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THE

SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. IV

Second Edition

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1895

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THE ZEND-AVESTA

PART I

THE VENDÎDÂD

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES DARMESTETER

Second Edition

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1895

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NOTE.

THE completion of this second edition of Professor Darmesteter's translation of the Avesta has been interrupted by the sudden and untimely death of the author. Fortunately, he had already revised the proof-sheets of his translation of the Vendîdâd, and completed his manuscript of the Introduction and Fragments. And, as the original manuscripts and collations, from which the text of the Fragments was derived, are mostly in my possession, the revision of the remaining proof-sheets has been chiefly in my hands, but has been carried out strictly in accordance with the author's views, as ascertained from his French translation of the Avesta. I have only to add that, though differing from my lamented friend in some of his more speculative opinions, I am convinced that it would be difficult to find a sounder scholar, a more brilliant writer, and a more estimable man, all united in the same individual.

E. W. WEST.

May, 1895.

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CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

CHAPTER I. THE DISCOVERY OF THE ZEND-AVESTA . . xiii
„ II. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ZEND-AVESTA xxvii
„ III. THE FORMATION OF THE ZEND-AVESTA . xxxi
„ IV. PARTHIAN ELEMENTS IN THE AVESTA . . xlvii
„ V. BRÂHMANICAL, BUDDHIST, AND GREEK ELEMENTS li
„ VI. JEWISH ELEMENTS IN THE RELIGION . . lvii
„ VII. ACHAEMENIAN AND EARLIER ELEMENTS . lx
„ VIII. AGE AND GROWTH OF THE AVESTA . . lxiv
„ IX. CONCLUSIONS lxvii
„ X. THE VENDÎDÂD lxx

TRANSLATION OF THE VENDÎDÂD.

FARGARD I. AN ENUMERATION OF SIXTEEN PERFECT LANDS CREATED BY AHURA MAZDA, AND OF AS MANY PLAGUES CREATED IN OPPOSITION BY ANGRA MAINYU 1

FARGARD II. MYTHS OF YIMA 10

FARGARD III. THE EARTH 21

I (1-6). What comforts most the Genius of the Earth? . 22
II (7-11). What discomforts most the Genius of the Earth? 24
III (12-35). What rejoices the Earth most? 26
IV (36-42). A development forbidding the burial of the dead 32

FARGARD IV. CONTRACTS AND OUTRAGES 34

I (1). 35
I a (2). Classification of the contracts according to the value of their object 35
(3-4). A contract is cancelled by paying the amount of the contract higher by one degree 36
(5-10). Religious responsibility of the family for the breach of a contract by one of its members . . . 36
(11-16). Punishment of the Mihir-Drug (one who breaks a contract) 38
II a (17). Definition of the outrages known as âgerepta (threatening attitude), avaoirista (assault), aredus (blows) 39
(18-21). Penalties for menaces 40
(22-25). Assaults 41

Digitized by Google

PAGE

(26–29). Blows 42
(30–33). Wounds 42
(34–36). Wounds causing blood to flow . . . 43
(37–39). Broken bones 44
(40–43). Manslaughter 44
III a (44–45). Contract of charity to co-religionists . . 45
IV a (46). Heinousness of false oath 46
III b (47–49 a). Dignity of wealth; of marriage; of physical weal 46
IV b (49 b–55). Heinousness of false oath. Ordeal . . 48

FARGARD V. 49
I (1–7). If a man defile the fire or the earth with dead matter (Nasu) involuntarily or unconsciously, it is no sin . 50
II (8–9). Water and fire do not kill 52
III (10–14). Disposal of the dead during winter, when it is not possible to take them to the Dakhma 53
IV (15–20). Why Ahura, while forbidding man to defile water, sends water from the heavens down to the Dakhmas, covered with corpses. How he purifies that water . . 54
V (21–26). On the excellence of purity and of the law that shows how to recover purity, when lost . . 56
VI (27–38). On the defiling power of the Nasu being greater or less, according to the greater or less dignity of the being that dies 58
VII (39–44). On the management of sacrificial implements defiled with Nasu 61
VIII (45–62). On the treatment of a woman who has been delivered of a still-born child; and what is to be done with her clothes 62

FARGARD VI. 67
I (1–9). How long the earth remains unclean, when defiled by the dead 67
II (10–25). Penalties for defiling the ground with dead matter 68
III (26–41). Purification of the different sorts of water, when defiled by the dead 71
IV (42–43). Purification of the Haoma 73
V (44–51). The place for corpses; the Dakhmas . . 74

FARGARD VII. 76
I (1–5). How long after death the Drug Nasu takes possession of the corpse 76
II (6–9). How far the defiling power of the Drug Nasu extends 78
III (10–22). Cleansing of clothes defiled by the dead. . 79
IV (23–24). Eating of Nasu an abomination . . . 81
V (25–27). Bringing Nasu to fire or water an abomination 82

Digitized by Google

PAGE

VI (28–35). Cleansing of wood and corn defiled by the dead 83
VII a (36–40). Physicians; their probation . . . 85
VII b (41–44). Their fees 86
VIII (45–59). Purification of the earth, of the Dakhmas. The Dakhmas and the Daêvas 87
IX (60–72). Treatment of a woman who has brought forth a still-born child 91
X (73–75). Cleansing of vessels defiled by the dead . . 92
XI (76–77). Cleansing of the cow 93
XII (78–79). Unclean libations 94

FARGARD VIII. 95
I (1–3). Purification of the house where a man has died . 95
II (4–13). Funerals 96
III (14–22). Purification of the ways along which the corpse has been carried 99
IV (23–25). No clothes to be thrown on a corpse . . 102
V (26–32). Unlawful lusts 103
VI (33–34). A corpse when dried up does not contaminate 105
VII (35–72). Purification of the man defiled by the dead . 105
VIII (73–80). Purification of the fire defiled by the dead . 113
IX (81–96). The Bahrâm fire 115
X (97–107). Purification in the wilderness 119

FARGARD IX. THE NINE NIGHTS' BARASHNÛM . . . 122
I a (1–11). Description of the place for cleansing the unclean (the Barashnûm-gâh) 123
I b (12–36). Description of the cleansing 126
II (37–44). Fees of the cleanser 132
III (47–57). The false cleanser; his punishment . . 134

FARGARD X. SPELLS RECITED DURING THE PROCESS OF THE CLEANSING 136

FARGARD XI. SPECIAL SPELLS FOR THE CLEANSING OF THE SEVERAL OBJECTS 142

FARGARD XII. THE UPAMAN: HOW LONG IT LASTS FOR DIFFERENT RELATIVES 148

FARGARD XIII. THE DOG 155
I (1–7). The dog of Ormazd and the dog of Ahriman . 155
I a (1–4). Holiness of the dog Vanghâpara ('the hedge-hog') 155
I b (5–7). Hatefulness of the dog Zairimyangura ('the tortoise') 157
II (8–16). The several kinds of dogs. Penalties for the murder of a dog 157
III (17–19). On the duties of the shepherd's dog and the house-dog 159

Digitized by Google

PAGE
IV (20-28). On the food due to the dog 160
V (29-38). On the mad dog and the dog diseased; how they are to be kept, and cured 163
VI (39-40). On the excellence of the dog 164
VII (41-43). On the wolf-dog 165
VIII (44-48). On the virtues and vices of the dog . . 166
IX (49). Praise of the dog 168
X (50-56). The water-dog 168

FARGARD XIV. THE ATONEMENT FOR THE MURDER OF A WATER-DOG 169

FARGARD XV. 176
I (1-8). On five sins the commission of which makes the sinner a Peshôtanu 176
II a (9-12). On unlawful unions and attempts to procure miscarriage 178
II b (13-19). On the obligations of the illegitimate father towards the mother and the child 179
III (20-45). On the treatment of a bitch big with young . 180
IV (46-51). On the breeding of dogs 184

FARGARD XVI. 185
I (1-7). On the uncleanness of women during their sickness 185
II (8-12). What is to be done if that state lasts too long . 187
III (13-18). Sundry laws relating to the same matter . 188

FARGARD XVII. HAIR AND NAILS 190

FARGARD XVIII. 193
I (1-13). On the unworthy priest and enticers to heresy . 193
II (14-29). The holiness of the cock, the bird of Sraosha, who awakes the world for prayer and for the protection of Atar 196
III (30-59). On the four sins that make the Drug pregnant with a brood of fiends 200
IV (60-65). On the evil caused by the Gahi ('the prostitute') 204
V (66-76). How intercourse with a Dashtân woman is to be atoned for 206

FARGARD XIX. 208
I (1-3). Angra Mainyu sends the demon Bûiti to kill Zarathustra: Zarathustra sings aloud the Ahuna-Vairya, and the demon flies away, confounded by the sacred words and by the Glory of Zarathustra 209
I a (4-10). Angra Mainyu himself attacks him and propounds riddles to be solved under pain of death . . 210
II (11-16). How to destroy the uncleanness born from a contact with the dead 212
III (17-19). How to promote the prosperity of the creation 214

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PAGE

IV (20–25). How to purify man and clothes defiled by the dead 215
V (26–34). On the remuneration of deeds after death; on the fate of the wicked and the righteous; the *K*invad bridge 217
II a (35–42). A series of invocations 220
VI (43–47). The demons, dismayed by the birth of the Prophet, rush back into hell 224

FARGARD XX. THRITA AND THE ORIGIN OF MEDICINE . 225

FARGARD XXI. 230
I (1). Praise of the holy bull 231
II (2–3). Invocation addressed to rain as a healing power . 231
III a (4–7). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the sun 231
III b (8–11). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the moon 233
III c (12–17). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the stars 233
IV (18–23). Spells against disease 235

FARGARD XXII. ANGRA MAINYU CREATES 99,999 DISEASES: 'AHURA MAZDA APPLIES FOR HEALING TO THE HOLY WORD AND TO AIRYAMAN 236

FRAGMENTS OF THE NASKS.

I. WESTERGAARD'S FRAGMENTS 245
II. ZEND FRAGMENTS IN THE ZEND-PAHLAVI FARHANG . 252
III. ZEND FRAGMENTS QUOTED IN THE PAHLAVI COMMENTARY OF THE YASNA 258
IV. ZEND FRAGMENTS QUOTED IN THE PAHLAVI COMMENTARY OF THE VENDÎDÂD 260
V. TAHMURAS' FRAGMENTS 275
VI. ERPATISTÂN AND NÎRANGISTÂN 300
VII. SUNDRY FRAGMENTS 369
VIII. AOGEMAIDÊ 372

Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets adopted for the Translations of the Sacred Books of the East 387

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

THE Zend-Avesta is the sacred book of the Parsis, that is to say, of the few remaining followers of that religion which reigned over Persia at the time when the second successor of Mohammed overthrew the Sassanian dynasty (642 A. C.)[1], and which has been called Dualism, or Mazdeism, or Magism, or Zoroastrianism, or Fire-worship, according as its main tenet, or its supreme God[2], or its priests, or its supposed founder, or its apparent object of worship has been most kept in view. In less than a century after their defeat, most of the conquered people were brought over to the faith of their new rulers, either by force, or policy, or the attractive power of a simpler form of creed. But many of those who clung to the faith of their fathers, went and sought abroad for a new home, where they might freely worship their old gods, say their old prayers, and perform their old rites. That home they found at last among the tolerant Hindus, on the western coast of India and in the peninsula of Guzerat[3]. There they throve and there they live still, while the ranks of their co-religionists in Persia are daily thinning and dwindling away[4].

---

[1] At the battle of Nihâvand.

[2] Ahura Mazda.

[3] They settled first at Sangân, not far from Damân; thence they spread over Surat, Nowsâri, Broach, and Kambay; and within the last two centuries they have settled at Bombay, which now contains the bulk of the Parsi people, nearly 90,000 souls (89,887 according to the census in 1891).

[4] A century ago, it is said, they still numbered nearly 100,000 souls; but

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As the Parsis are the ruins of a people, so are their sacred books the ruins of a religion. There has been no other great belief in the world that ever left such poor and meagre monuments of its past splendour. Yet great is the value which that small book, the Avesta, and the belief of that scanty people, the Parsis, have in the eyes of the historian and theologian, as they present to us the last reflex of the ideas which prevailed in Iran during the five centuries which preceded and the seven which followed the birth of Christ, a period which gave to the world the Gospels, the Talmud, and the Qur'ân. Persia, it is known, had much influence on each of the movements which produced, or proceeded from, those three books; she lent much to the first heresiarchs, much to the Rabbis, much to Mohammed. By help of the Parsi religion and the Avesta, we are enabled to go back to the very heart of that most momentous period in the history of religious thought, which saw the blending of the Aryan mind with the Semitic, and thus opened the second stage of Aryan thought.

Inquiries into the religion of ancient Persia began long ago, and it was the old enemy of Persia, the Greek, who first studied it. Aristotle[1], Hermippus[2], and many others[3] wrote of it in books of which, unfortunately, nothing more than a few fragments or merely the titles have come down to us. We find much valuable information about it, scattered in the accounts of historians and travellers, extending over ten centuries, from Herodotos down to Agathias and Procopius (from 450 B.C. to 550 A.C.)[4]. The clearest and most faithful account of the dualist doctrine is found in the treatise *De Iside et Osiride*, ascribed to Plutarch. But

there now remain no more than 8,000 or 9,000, scattered in Yazd and the surrounding villages (Dosabhoy Framji, History of the Parsis.—Houtum-Schindler gave 8,499 in 1879; of that number there were 6,483 in Yazd, 1,756 in Kirmân, 150 in Teherân: see Z. D. M. G., 1882, p. 55).

[1] Diogenes Laertius, Prooemium 8.

[2] Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXX, 1, 2. Cf. Windischmann, Zor. Stud. p. 288.

[3] Dinon, Theopompus (the 8th book of his Philippica), Hermodorus, Heraclides Cumanus.

[4] All this store of information has been collected by Brisson (see below), Kleuker (see below), and Windischmann (Zoroastrische Studien, 260 seq.)

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Zoroastrianism was never more eagerly studied than in the first centuries of the Christian era, though without anything of the disinterested and almost scientific curiosity of the earlier times. Religious and philosophic sects, in search of new dogmas, eagerly received whatever came to them bearing the name of Zoroaster. As Xanthos the Lydian, who is said to have lived before Herodotos, had mentioned Zoroastrian Λόγια [1], there came to light, in those later times, scores of oracles, styled Λόγια τοῦ Ζωροάστρου, or 'Oracula Chaldaïca sive Magica,' the work of Neo-Platonists who were but very remote disciples of the Median sage. As his name had become the very emblem of wisdom, they would cover with it the latest inventions of their ever-deepening theosophy. Zoroaster and Plato were treated as if they had been philosophers of the same school, and Hierocles expounded their doctrines in the same book. Proclus collected seventy Tetrads of Zoroaster and wrote commentaries on them [2]; but we need hardly say that Zoroaster commented on by Proclus was nothing more or less than Proclus commented on by Proclus. Prodicus the Gnostic possessed secret books of Zoroaster [3]; and, upon the whole, it may be said that in the first centuries of Christianity, the religion of Persia was more studied and less understood than it had ever been before. The real object aimed at, in studying the old religion, was to form a new one.

Throughout the Middle Ages nothing was known of Mazdeism but the name of its founder, who from a Magus was converted into a magician and master of the hidden sciences. It was not until the Renaissance that real inquiry was resumed. The first step was to collect all the information that could be gathered from Greek and Roman writers. That task was undertaken and successfully completed by Barnabé Brisson [4]. A nearer approach to the

[1] See Nicolaus Damascenus, Didot, Fragm. Hist. III, 409.

[2] Fabricius, Graeca Bibliotheca, fourth ed. p. 309 seq.

[3] Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata I. Cf. Porphyrius, de vita Plotini, § 16.

[4] 'De regio Persarum principatu libri tres,' Paris, 1590. The second book is devoted to the religion and manners of the ancient Persians.

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original source was made in the following century by Italian, English, and French travellers in Asia. Pietro della Valle, Henry Lord, Mandelslo, Ovington, Chardin, Gabriel du Chinon, and Tavernier found Zoroaster's last followers in Persia and India, and made known their existence, their manners, and the main features of their belief to Europe. Gabriel du Chinon saw their books and recognised that they were not all written in the same language, their original holy writ being no longer understood except by means of translations and commentaries in another tongue.

In the year 1700, a professor at Oxford, Thomas Hyde, the greatest Orientalist of his time in Europe, made the first systematic attempt to restore the history of the old Persian religion by combining the accounts of the Mohammedan writers with 'the true and genuine monuments of ancient Persia[1].' Unfortunately the so-called genuine monuments of ancient Persia were nothing more than recent Persian compilations or refacimenti[2]. But notwithstanding this defect, which could hardly be avoided then, and a distortion of critical acumen[3], the book of Thomas Hyde was the first complete and true picture of modern Parsîism, and it made inquiry into its history the order of the day. A warm appeal made by him to the zeal of travellers, to seek for and procure at any price the sacred books of the Parsis, did not remain ineffectual, and from that time scholars bethought themselves of studying Parsîism in its own home.

[1] 'Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia,' Oxford, 1700.

[2] The Saddar, an excellent text-book of Parsîism, of which he gave an incorrect edition (the only one still in existence) and an incorrect translation, superseded only lately by West's translation in the Sacred Books of the East.—A Persian metrical translation of the Pahlavi Ardâ Vîrâf's visit to hell.—The Farhangi Jihângîrî, a Persian dictionary compiled in 1609 and explaining many Pahlavi and Pazend terms.

[3] Being struck with the many analogies between the Zoroastrian and the biblical systems, he recognised in Abraham the first lawgiver of ancient Persia, in Magism a Sabean corruption of the primeval faith, and in Zoroaster a reformer, who had learnt the forgotten truth from the exiled Jews in Babylon.

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Eighteen years later, a countryman of Hyde, George Boucher, received from the Parsis in Surat a copy of the Vendîdâd Sâda, which was brought to England in 1723 by Richard Cobbe[1]. But the old manuscript was a sealed book, and the most that could then be made of it was to hang it by an iron chain to the wall of the Bodleian Library[2], as a curiosity to be shown to foreigners. A few years later, a Scotchman, named Fraser, went to Surat, with the view of obtaining from the Parsis, not only their books, but also a knowledge of their contents. He was not very successful in the first undertaking, and utterly failed in the second.

In 1754 a young man, twenty years old, Anquetil Duperron, a scholar of the École des Langues Orientales in Paris, happened to see a facsimile of four leaves of the Oxford Vendîdâd, which had been sent from England, a few years before, to Etienne Fourmont, the Orientalist. He determined at once to give to France both the books of Zoroaster and the first European translation of them. Too impatient to set off, to wait for a mission from the government which had been promised to him, he enlisted as a private soldier in the service of the French East India Company; he embarked at Lorient on the 24th of February, 1755, and after three years of endless adventures and dangers through the whole breadth of Hindustan, at the very time when war was waging between France and England, he arrived at last in Surat, where he stayed among the Parsis for three years more. Here began another struggle, not less hard, but more decisive, against the same mistrust and ill-will which had disheartened Fraser; but he came out of it victorious, and prevailed at last on the Parsis to part both with their books and their knowledge. He came back to Paris on the 14th of March, 1764, and deposited on the following day at the Bibliothèque Royale the whole of the Zend-Avesta and copies of several tradi-

[1] It was entitled: 'Leges sacrae ritus ex liturgia Zoroastri, . . . scripsit hunc librum Tched Divdadi filius,' Vendidad (*Gût Dêv Dât*) being mistaken for a man's name. The manuscript was written in the year 1050 of Yazdgard (1680–1681 A.D.)

[2] It is numbered nowadays, Orientalia, 322.

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tional books. He spent ten years in studying the material he had collected, and published in 1771 the first European translation of the Zend-Avesta [1].

A violent dispute broke out at once, as half the learned world denied the authenticity of the Avesta, which it pronounced a forgery. It was the future founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, William Jones, a young Oxonian then, who opened the war. He had been wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Hyde and a few other English scholars: the Zend-Avesta suffered for the fault of its introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil. In a pamphlet written in French [2], with a verve and in a style which showed him to be a good disciple of Voltaire, W. Jones pointed out, and dwelt upon, the oddities and absurdities with which the so-called sacred books of Zoroaster teemed. It is true that Anquetil had given full scope to satire by the style he had adopted: he cared very little for literary elegance, and did not mind writing Zend and Persian in French; so the new and strange ideas he had to express looked stranger still in the outlandish garb he gave them. Yet it was less the style than the ideas that shocked the contemporary of Voltaire [3]. His main argument was that books, full of such silly tales, of laws and rules so absurd, of descriptions of gods and demons so grotesque, could not be the work of a sage like Zoroaster, nor the code of a religion so much celebrated for its simplicity, wisdom, and purity. His conclusion was that the Avesta was a rhapsody of some modern Guebre. In fact the only thing in which Jones succeeded was to prove in a decisive manner that the ancient Persians were not equal to the lumières of the eighteenth century, and that the authors of the Avesta had not read the Encyclopédie.

Jones's censure was echoed in England by Sir John

[1] 'Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Théologiques, Physiques et Morales de ce Législateur.... Traduit en François sur l'Original Zend.' Par M. Anquetil Du Perron, 3 vols. in 4°, Paris, 1771.

[2] 'Lettre à M. A*** du P***, dans laquelle est compris l'examen de sa traduction des livres attribués à Zoroastre.'

[3] Cf. Voltaire's article on Zoroaster in the Dictionnaire philosophique.

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Chardin and Richardson, in Germany by Meiners. Richardson tried to give a scientific character to the attacks of Jones by founding them on philological grounds[1]. That the Avesta was a fabrication of modern times was shown, he argued, by the number of Arabic words he fancied he found both in the Zend and Pahlavi dialects, as no Arabic element was introduced into the Persian idioms earlier than the seventh century; also by the harsh texture of the Zend, contrasted with the rare euphony of the Persian; and, lastly, by the radical difference between the Zend and Persian, both in words and grammar. To these objections, drawn from the form, he added another derived from the uncommon stupidity of the matter.

In Germany, Meiners, to the charges brought against the newly-found books, added another of a new and unexpected kind, namely, that they spoke of ideas unheard of before, and made known new things. 'Pray, who would dare ascribe to Zoroaster books in which are found numberless names of trees, animals, men, and demons unknown to the ancient Persians; in which are invoked an incredible number of pure animals and other things, which, as appears from the silence of ancient writers, were never known, or at least never worshipped, in Persia? What Greek ever spoke of Hôm, of Jemshîd, and of such other personages as the fabricators of that rhapsody exalt with every kind of praise, as divine heroes[2]?'

Anquetil and the Avesta found an eager champion in the person of Kleuker, professor in the University of Riga. As soon as the French version of the Avesta appeared, he published a German translation of it, and also of Anquetil's historical dissertations[3]. Then, in a series of dissertations of his own[4], he vindicated the authenticity of the Zend

[1] 'A Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations,' Oxford, 1777.

[2] 'De Zoroastris vita, institutis, doctrina et libris,' in the Novi Commentarii Societatis Regiae, Goettingen, 1778–1779.

[3] 'Zend-Avesta ... nach dem Franzoesischen des Herrn Anquetil Du Perron,' 3 vols. in 4°, 1776.

[4] 'Anhang zum Zend-Avesta,' 2 vols. in 4°, 1781.

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books. Anquetil had already tried to show, in a memoir on Plutarch, that the data of the Avesta fully agree with the account of the Magian religion given in the treatise on 'Isis and Osiris.' Kleuker enlarged the circle of comparison to the whole of ancient literature.

In the field of philology, he showed, as Anquetil had already done, that Zend has no Arabic elements in it, and that Pahlavi itself, which is more modern than Zend, does not contain any Arabic, but only Semitic words of the Aramean dialect, which are easily accounted for by the close relations of Persia with Aramean lands in the time of the Sassanian kings. He showed, lastly, that Arabic words appear only in the very books which Parsi tradition itself considers modern.

Another stanch upholder of the Avesta was the numismatologist Tychsen, who, having begun to read the book with a prejudice against its authenticity, quitted it with a conviction to the contrary. 'There is nothing in it,' he writes, 'but what befits remote ages, and a man philosophising in the infancy of the world. Such traces of a recent period as they fancy to have found in it, are either due to misunderstandings, or belong to its later portions. On the whole there is a marvellous accordance between the Zend-Avesta and the accounts of the ancients with regard to the doctrine and institutions of Zoroaster. Plutarch agrees so well with the Zend books that I think no one will deny the close resemblance of doctrines and identity of origin. Add to all this the incontrovertible argument to be drawn from the language, the antiquity of which is established by the fact that it was necessary to translate a part of the Zend books into Pahlavi, a language which was growing obsolete as early as the time of the Sassanides. Lastly, it cannot be denied that Zoroaster left books which were, through centuries, the groundwork of the Magic religion, and which were preserved by the Magi, as shown by a series of documents from the time of Hermippus. Therefore I am unable to see why we should not trust the Magi of our days when they ascribe to Zoroaster those traditional

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books of their ancestors, in which nothing is found to indicate fraud or a modern hand [1].'

Two years afterwards, in 1793, was published in Paris a book which, without directly dealing with the Avesta, was the first step taken to make its authenticity incontrovertible. It was the masterly memoir by Sylvestre de Sacy, in which the Pahlavi inscriptions of the first Sassanides were deciphered for the first time and in a decisive manner. De Sacy, in his researches, had chiefly relied on the Pahlavi lexicon published by Anquetil, whose work vindicated itself thus—better than by heaping up arguments—by promoting discoveries. The Pahlavi inscriptions gave the key, as is well known, to the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, which were in return to put beyond all doubt the genuineness of the Zend language.

Tychsen, in an appendix to his Commentaries, pointed to the importance of the new discovery: 'This,' he writes, 'is a proof that the Pahlavi was used during the reign of the Sassanides, for it was from them that these inscriptions emanated, as it was by them—nay, by the first of them, Ardeshîr Bâbagân—that the doctrine of Zoroaster was revived. One can now understand why the Zend books were translated into Pahlavi. Here, too, everything agrees, and speaks loudly for their antiquity and genuineness.'

About the same time Sir William Jones, then president of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he had just founded, resumed in a discourse delivered before that Society the same question he had solved in such an off-hand manner twenty years before. He was no longer the man to say, 'Sied-il à un homme né dans ce siècle de s'infatuer de fables indiennes?' and although he had still a spite against Anquetil, he spoke of him with more reserve than in 1771. However, his judgment on the Avesta itself was not altered on the whole, although, as he himself declared, he had not thought it necessary to study the text. But a glance at the Zend glossary published by Anquetil suggested to him a remark

[1] 'Commentatio prior observationes historico-criticas de Zoroastre ejusque scriptis et placitis exhibens.' Goettingen, in the Novi Comment. Soc. Reg. 1791.

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which makes Sir William Jones, in spite of himself, the creator of the comparative grammar of Sanskrit and Zend. 'When I perused the Zend glossary,' he writes, 'I was inexpressibly surprised to find that six or seven words in ten are pure Sanscrit, and even some of their inflexions formed by the rules of the Vyácaran[1], as yushmácam, the genitive plural of yushmad. Now M. Anquetil most certainly, and the Persian compiler most probably, had no knowledge of Sanscrit, and could not, therefore, have invented a list of Sanscrit words; it is, therefore, an authentic list of Zend words, which has been preserved in books or by tradition; it follows that the language of the Zend was at least a dialect of the Sanscrit, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the Prácrit, or other popular idioms, which we know to have been spoken in India two thousand years ago[2].' This conclusion, that Zend is a Sanskrit dialect, was incorrect, the connection assumed being too close; but it was a great thing that the near relationship of the two languages should have been brought to light.

In 1798 Father Paulo de St. Barthélemy further developed Jones's remark in an essay on the antiquity of the Zend language[3]. He showed its affinity with the Sanskrit by a list of such Zend and Sanskrit words as were least likely to have been borrowed, viz. those that designate the degrees of relationship, the limbs of the body, and the most general and essential ideas. Another list, intended to show, on a special topic, how closely connected the two languages are, contains eighteen words taken from the liturgic language used in India and Persia. This list was not very happily drawn up, as out of the eighteen instances there is not a single one that stands inquiry; yet it was a happy idea, and one which has not even yet yielded all that it promised. His conclusions were that in a far remote antiquity Sanskrit was spoken in Persia and Media, that it gave birth to the Zend language, and that the Zend-Avesta is authentic: 'Were it but a recent compilation,' he writes, 'as Jones

[1] The Sanskrit Grammar. [2] Asiatic Researches, II, § 3.

[3] 'De antiquitate et affinitate linguae samscredamicae et germanicae,' Rome, 1798.

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asserts, how is it that the oldest rites of the Parsis, that the old inscriptions of the Persians, the accounts of the Zoroastrian religion in the classical writers, the liturgic prayers of the Parsis, and, lastly, even their books do not reveal the pure Sanskrit, as written in the land wherein the Parsis live, but a mixed language, which is as different from the other dialects of India as French is from Italian?' This amounted, in fact, to saying that the Zend is not derived from the Sanskrit, but that both are derived from another and older language. The Carmelite had a dim notion of that truth, but, as he failed to express it distinctly, it was lost for years, and had to be re-discovered.

The first twenty-five years of this century were void of results, but the old and sterile discussions as to the authenticity of the texts continued in England. In 1808 John Leyden regarded Zend as a Prakrit dialect, parallel to Pali; Pali being identical with the Magadhi dialect and Zend with the Sauraseni[1]. In the eyes of Erskine Zend was a Sanskrit dialect, imported from India by the founders of Mazdeism, but never spoken in Persia[2]. His main argument was that Zend is not mentioned among the seven dialects which were current in ancient Persia according to the Farhang-i Jehangiri[3], and that Pahlavi and Persian exhibit no close relationship with Zend.

In Germany, Meiners had found no followers. The theologians appealed to the Avesta in their polemics[4], and Rhode sketched the religious history of Persia after the translations of Anquetil[5].

Erskine's essay provoked a decisive answer[6] from Emmanuel Rask, one of the most gifted minds in the new school of philology, who had the honour of being a pre-

[1] Asiatic Researches, X. [2] Ibid. X.

[3] A large Persian dictionary compiled in India in the reign of Jehangir.

[4] 'Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament aus einer neueröffneten Morgenländischen Quelle, *Ἴδου μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν*,' Riga, 1775.

[5] 'Die Heilige Sage ... des Zend-Volks,' Francfort, 1820.

[6] 'Ueber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache und des Zend Avesta' (übersetzt von F. H. von der Hagen), Berlin, 1826. Remarks on the Zend Language and the Zend-Avesta (Transactions of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, III, 524).

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cursor of both Grimm and Burnouf. He showed that the list of the Jehangiri referred to an epoch later than that to which Zend must have belonged, and to parts of Persia different from those where it must have been spoken; he showed further that modern Persian is not derived from Zend, but from a dialect closely connected with it; and, lastly, he showed what was still more important, that Zend was not derived from Sanskrit. As to the system of its sounds, Zend approaches Persian rather than Sanskrit; and as to its grammatical forms, if they often remind one of Sanskrit, they also often remind one of Greek and Latin, and frequently have a special character of their own. Rask also gave the paradigm of three Zend nouns, belonging to different declensions, as well as the right pronunciation of the Zend letters, several of which had been incorrectly given by Anquetil. This was the first essay on Zend grammar, and it was a masterly one.

The essay published in 1831 by Peter von Bohlen on the origin of the Zend language threw the matter forty years back. According to him, Zend is a Prakrit dialect, as it had been pronounced by Jones, Leyden, and Erskine. His mistake consisted in taking Anquetil's transcriptions of the words, which are often so incorrect as to make them look like corrupted forms when compared with Sanskrit. And, what was worse, he took the proper names in their modern Parsi forms, which often led him to comparisons that would have appalled Ménage. Thus Ahriman became a Sanskrit word ariman, which would have meant 'the fiend;' yet Bohlen might have seen in Anquetil's work itself that Ahriman is nothing but the modern form of Angra Mainyu, words which hardly remind one of the Sanskrit ariman. Again, the angel Vohu-manô, or 'good thought,' was reduced, by means of the Parsi form Bahman, to the Sanskrit bâhumân, 'a long-armed god.'

At length came Burnouf. From the time when Anquetil had published his translation, that is to say, during seventy years, no real progress had been made in knowledge of the Avesta texts. The notion that Zend and Sanskrit are two kindred languages was the only new idea that had been

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acquired, but no practical advantage for the interpretation of the texts had resulted from it. Anquetil's translation was still the only guide, and as the doubts about the authenticity of the texts grew fainter, the authority of the translation became greater, the trust reposed in the Avesta being reflected on to the work of its interpreter. The Parsis had been the teachers of Anquetil; and who could ever understand the holy writ of the Parsis better than the Parsis themselves? There was no one who even tried to read the texts by the light of Anquetil's translation, to obtain a direct understanding of them.

About 1825 Eugène Burnouf was engaged in a course of researches on the geographical extent of the Aryan languages in India. After he had defined the limits which divide the races speaking Aryan languages from the native non-brahmanical tribes in the south, he wanted to know if a similar boundary had ever existed in the north-west; and if it is outside of India that the origin of the Indian languages and civilisation is to be sought for. He was thus led to study the languages of Persia, and, first of all, the oldest of them, the Zend. But as he tried to read the texts by help of Anquetil's translation, he was surprised to find that this was not the clue he had expected. He saw that two causes had misled Anquetil: on the one hand, his teachers, the Parsi dasturs, either knew little themselves or taught him imperfectly, not only the Zend, but even the Pahlavi intended to explain the meaning of the Zend; so that the tradition on which his work rested, being incorrect in itself, corrupted it from the very beginning; on the other hand, as Sanskrit was unknown to him and comparative grammar did not as yet exist, he could not supply the defects of tradition by their aid. Burnouf, laying aside tradition as found in Anquetil's translation, consulted it as found in a much older and purer form, in a Sanskrit translation of the Yasna made in the fifteenth century by the Parsi Neriosengh in accordance with the old Pahlavi version. The information given by Neriosengh he tested, and either confirmed or corrected, by a comparison of parallel passages and by the help of comparative grammar, which had just

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been founded by Bopp, and applied by him successfully to the explanation of Zend forms. Thus he succeeded in tracing the general outlines of the Zend lexicon and in fixing its grammatical forms, and founded the only correct method of interpreting the Avesta. He also gave the first notions of a comparative mythology of the Avesta and the Veda, by showing the identity of the Vedic Yama with the Avesta Yima, and of Traitâna with Thraêtaona and Ferîdûn. Thus he made his 'Commentaire sur le Yasna' a marvellous and unparalleled model of critical insight and steady good sense, equally opposed to the narrowness of mind which clings to matters of fact without rising to their cause and connecting them with the series of associated phenomena, and to the wild and uncontrolled spirit of comparison, which, by comparing everything, confounds everything. Never sacrificing either tradition to comparison or comparison to tradition, he knew how to pass from the one to the other, and was so enabled both to discover facts and to explain them.

At the same time the ancient Persian inscriptions at Persepolis and Behistun were deciphered by Burnouf in Paris, by Lassen in Bonn, and by Sir Henry Rawlinson in Persia. Thus was revealed the existence, at the time of the first Achaemenian kings, of a language closely connected with that of the Avesta, and the last doubts as to the authenticity of the Zend books were at length removed. It would have required more than an ordinary amount of scepticism to look still upon the Zend as an artificial language, of foreign importation, without root in the land where it was written, and in the conscience of the people for whom it was written, at the moment when a twin language, bearing a striking likeness to it in nearly every feature, was suddenly making itself heard from the mouth of Darius, and speaking from the very tomb of the first Achaemenian king. That unexpected voice silenced all controversies, and the last echoes of the loud discussion which had been opened in 1771 died away unheeded[1].

[1] The attacks of John Romer ('Zend: Is it an Original Language?' London,

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CHAPTER II.

The Interpretation of the Zend-Avesta.

The peace did not last long, and a year after the death of Burnouf a new controversy broke out, which still continues, the battle of the methods, that is, the dispute between those who, to interpret the Avesta, rely chiefly or exclusively on tradition, and those who rely only on comparison with the Vedas. The cause of the rupture was the rapid progress made in the knowledge of the Vedic language and literature: the deeper one penetrated into that oldest form of Indian words and thoughts, the more striking appeared its close affinity with the Avesta words and thoughts. Many a mysterious line in the Avesta received an unlooked-for light from the poems of the Indian *Ri*shis, and the long-forgotten past and the origin of many gods and heroes, whom the Parsi worships and extols without knowing who they were and whence they came, were suddenly revealed by the Vedas. Emboldened by its bright discoveries, the comparative method took pity on its slower and less brilliant rival, which was then making its first attempts to unravel the Pahlavi traditional books. Is it worth while, said the Vedic scholars [1], to try slowly and painfully to extract the secret of the old book from that uncouth literature? Nay, is there any hope that its secret is there? Translating the Avesta in accordance with the Pahlavi is not translating the Avesta, but only translating the Pahlavi version, which, wherever it has been deciphered, is found to wander strangely from the true meaning of the original text. Tradition, as a rule, is wont to enforce the ideas of its own ages into the books of past ages. From the time when the Avesta was written to the time when it was translated, many ideas had undergone great changes: such ideas, tradition must needs either

1855) called forth a refutation only in Bombay (Dhanjibai Framji, 'On the Origin and the Authenticity of the Aryan Family of Languages, the Zend-Avesta and the Huzvarash,' 1861).

[1] Roth, Benfey, Haug. Cf. Revue Critique, 1877, II, 81.

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misunderstand or not understand at all, and tradition is always either new sense or nonsense. The key to the Avesta is not the Pahlavi, but the Veda. The Avesta and the Veda are two echoes of one and the same voice, the reflex of one and the same thought: the Vedas, therefore, are both the best lexicon and the best commentary to the Avesta.

The traditional school[1] replied that translating Zend by means of Sanskrit and the Avesta by means of the Vedas, because Zend and the Avesta are closely related to Sanskrit and the Vedas, is forgetting that relationship is not identity, and that what interests the Zend scholar is not to know how far Zend agrees with Sanskrit, but what it is in itself: what he seeks for in the Avesta, is the Avesta, not the Veda. Both the Vedic language and the Vedas are quite unable to teach us what became in Persia of those elements, which are common to the two systems, a thing which tradition alone can teach us. By the comparative method, the Zend meregha, which means 'a bird,' would assume the meaning of 'gazelle' to accord with the Sanskrit mṛiga; ratu, 'a part of the day,' would be extended to 'a season' out of regard for ṛitu; mainyu, 'a spirit,' and dahyu, 'a province,' would be degraded to 'anger' and to 'a set of thieves,' and 'the demons,' the Daêvas, would ascend from their dwelling in hell up to heaven, to meet their philological brothers, the Indian Devas. The traditional method, as it starts from matters of fact, moves always in the field of reality; the comparative method starts from an hypothesis, moves in a vacuum, and builds up a fanciful religion and a fanciful language.

Such being the methods of the two schools, it often happened that a passage, translated by two scholars, one of each school, took so different an aspect that a layman would have been quite unable to suspect that it was one and the same passage he had read twice. Yet the divergence between the two methods is more apparent than real, and proceeds from an imperfect notion of the field in

[1] Spiegel, Justi.

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which each of them ought to work. They ought not to oppose, but assist one another, as they are not intended to instruct us about the same kind of facts, but about two kinds of facts quite different and independent. No language, no religion, that has lived long and changed much, can be understood at any moment of its development, unless we know what it was before and what it became afterwards. The language and religion of the Avesta record but a moment in the long life of the Iranian language and thought, so that we are unable to understand them, unless we know whence they came and what they became. What they became we learn directly from tradition, since the tradition arose from the very ideas which the Avesta expresses; whence they came we learn indirectly from the Vedas, because the Vedas come from the same source as the Avesta. Therefore it cannot happen that the tradition and the Veda will really contradict one another, if we take care to ask from each only what it knows, from one the present, and from the other the past. Each method is equally right and equally efficacious at its proper time and in its right place. The first place belongs to tradition, as it comes straight from the Avesta. The second inquiry, to be successful, requires infinite prudence and care: the Veda is not the past of the Avesta, as the Avesta is the past of tradition; the Avesta and Veda are not derived from one another, but from one and the same original, diversely altered in each, and, therefore, there are two stages of variation between them, whereas from the Avesta to tradition there is only one. The Veda, if first interrogated, gives no valuable evidence, as the words and gods, common to the two systems, may not have retained in both the same meaning they had in the Indo-Iranian period: they may have preserved it in one and lost it in the other, or they may have both altered it, but each in a different way. The Veda, generally speaking, cannot help us in discovering matters of fact in the Avesta, but only in explaining them when discovered by tradition. If we review the discoveries made by the masters of the comparative school, it will be seen that they have in reality started, without noticing it,

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from facts formerly established by tradition. In fact tradition gives the materials, and comparison puts them in order. It is not possible, either to know the Avesta without the former, or to understand it without the latter.

The traditional school, and especially its indefatigable and well-deserving leader, Spiegel, made us acquainted with the nature of the old Iranian religion by gathering together all its materials; the comparative school tried to explain its growth. The traditional school published the text and the traditional translations, and produced the first Parsi grammar, the first Pahlavi grammar, and the first translation of the Avesta which had been made since Anquetil. The danger with it is that it shows itself too apt to stop at tradition, instead of going from it to comparison. When it undertakes to expound the history of the religion, it cannot but be misled by tradition. Any living people, although its existing state of mind is but the result of various and changing states through many successive ages, yet, at any particular moment of its life, keeps the remains of its former stages of thought in order, under the control of the principle that is then predominant. Thus it happens that its ideas are connected together in a way which seldom agrees with their historical sequence: chronological order is lost to sight and replaced by logical order, and the past is read into the present. Comparison alone can enable us to put things in their proper place, to trace their birth, their growth, their changes, their former relations, and lead us from the logical order, which is a shadow, to the historical order, which is the substance.

The comparative school developed Indo-Iranian mythology. Roth showed after Burnouf how the epical history of Iran was derived from the same source as the myths of Vedic India, and pointed out the primitive identity of Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of Iran, with Varuṇa, the supreme god of the Vedic age. In the same direction Windischmann, in his 'Zoroastrian Essays' and in his studies on Mithra and Anâhita, displayed singular sagacity. But the dangers of the method came to light in the works of Haug, who, giving a definite form to a system still

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fluctuating, converted Mazdeism into a religious revolution against Vedic polytheism, found historical allusions to that schism both in the Avesta and in the Veda, pointed out curses against Zoroaster in the Vedas, and, in short, transformed, as it were, the two books into historical pamphlets [1].

In the contest about the authenticity of the Avesta, one party must necessarily have been right and the other wrong; but in the present struggle the issue is not so clear, as both parties are partly right and partly wrong. Both of them, by following their principles, have rendered such services to science as seem to give each a right to cling to its own method more firmly than ever. Yet it is to be hoped that they will see at last that they must be allies, not enemies, and that their common work must be begun by the one and completed by the other.

CHAPTER III.

THE FORMATION OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

§ 1. The collection of Zend fragments, known as the Zend-Avesta [2], is divided, in its usual form, into two parts.

The first part, or the Avesta properly so called, contains the Vendîdâd, the Vispêrad, and the Yasna. The Vendîdâd is a compilation of religious laws and of mythical tales; the Vispêrad is a collection of litanies for the sacrifice; and the Yasna is composed of litanies of the same

[1] It would be unjust, when speaking of Haug, not to recall the invaluable services he rendered in the second part of his career, as a Pahlavi scholar. He was the first who thought of illustrating the Pahlavi of the books by the Pahlavi of the inscriptions, and thus determined the reading of the principal elements in the manuscript Pahlavi.

[2] A very improper designation, as Zend means 'a commentary or explanation,' and was applied only to explanatory texts, to the translations of the Avesta. Avesta (from the old Persian âbastâ, 'the law;' see Oppert, Journal Asiatique, 1872, Mars) is the proper name of the original texts. What it is customary to call 'the Zend language' ought to be named 'the Avesta language;' the Zend being no language at all; and, if the word be used as the designation of one, it can be rightly applied only to the Pahlavi. The expression 'Avesta and Zend' is often used in the Pahlavi commentary to designate 'the law with its traditional and revealed explanation.'

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kind and of five hymns or Gâthas written in a special dialect, older than the general language of the Avesta.

These three books are found in manuscripts in two different forms: either each by itself, in which case they are generally accompanied by a Pahlavi translation; or the three mingled together according to the requirements of the liturgy, as they are not each recited separately in their entirety, but the chapters of the different books are intermingled; and in this case the collection is called the Vendîdâd Sâda or 'Vendîdâd pure,' as it exhibits the original text alone, without a translation.

The second part, generally known as the Khorda Avesta or 'Small Avesta,' is composed of short prayers which are recited not only by the priests, but by all the faithful, at certain moments of the day, month, or year, and in presence of the different elements; these prayers are the five Gâh, the thirty formulas of the Sîrôzah, the three Âfrigân, and the six Nyâyis. But it is also usual to include in the Khorda Avesta, though they are no real part of it, the Yasts or hymns of praise and glorification to the several Izads, and a number of fragments, the most important of which is the Hadhôkht Nask.

§ 2. That the extent of the sacred literature of Mazdeism was formerly much greater than it is now, appears not only from internal evidence, that is, from the fragmentary character of the book, but is also proved by historical evidence. In the first place, the Arab conquest proved fatal to the religious literature of the Sassanian ages, a great part of which was either destroyed by the fanaticism of the conquerors and the new converts, or lost during the long exodus of the Parsis. Thus the Pahlavi translation of the Vendîdâd, which was not finished before the latter end of the Sassanian dynasty, contains not a few Zend quotations from books which are no longer in existence: whole chapters also, or large quotations, of lost books are preserved in Pahlavi and Parsi tracts, like the Nîrangistân and the Aogemaidê; and numerous quotations, from texts unknown before, have recently come to light in a Pahlavi Ravâet discovered in Bombay. It is a tradition with the Parsis,

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that the Yasts were originally thirty in number, there having been one for each of the thirty Izads who preside over the thirty days of the month; yet there are only eighteen now extant. The Bundahis contains much matter which is not spoken of in the existing Avesta, but which appears to have been taken from Zend books that were still in the hands of its compiler.

What helped to preserve the Avesta is obvious; taken as a whole, it does not profess to be a religious encyclopedia, but only a liturgical collection, and it bears more likeness to a Prayer Book than to the Bible. It can be readily conceived that the Vendîdâd Sâda, which had to be recited every day, would be more carefully preserved than the Yasts, which are generally recited once a month; and these again more carefully than other books, which, however sacred they might be, were not used in the performance of worship. Many texts, no doubt, were lost in consequence of the Arab conquest, but mostly such as would have more importance in the eyes of the theologian than in those of the priest. But we are no longer in the dark as to the character and the contents of that larger literature of which our Avesta is a remnant: that literature is known to us, in its general outlines, through a Pahlavi analysis which was made in the ninth century, two centuries after the Arab conquest and at a time when the sacred literature of the Sassanian times was still in existence. West's translation of that synopsis[1] is the greatest service rendered in the last twenty years in the field of Avesta scholarship, and has for the first time rendered a history of Avesta literature possible.

§ 3. During the Sassanian period, while Zoroastrianism was the state religion, the collection of sacred writings was composed of twenty-one books or Nasks, distributed into three classes, each of seven Nasks; being called respectively the Gâtha group (gâsân), the group of the law (dât), and the group of the Hadha-mãthra; or the theological group, the legal group, and the mixed group.

[1] Pahlavi Texts, IV (forming vol. xxxvii of the Sacred Books of the East).

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The seven Gâtha Nasks, thus named because they are mostly a development of the Gâthas, are:—

The Stôt Yaſt (Dk. VIII, 46);
The Sûtkar (Dk. VIII, 2; IX, 2);
The Varſt-mânsar (Dk. VIII, 3; IX, 24);
The Bak (Dk. VIII, 4; IX, 47);
The Vaſtag (Dk. VIII, 12);
The Hâdhôkht (Dk. VIII, 45);
The Spand (Dk. VIII, 14).

We possess the Stôt Yaſt (in Zend Staota yêsnya) in its entirety: it is the core of the aggregate known as the Yasna, and the most holy part of the Avesta. It contains thirty-three chapters, of which twenty-two are metrical and written in an archaic style, these being the Gâthas, properly so called, and the three chief prayers (Ahuna Vairya, Ashem Vohû, and YêNhê hâtăm); eleven chapters are written in prose and in the common dialect [1].

The Sûtkar, the Varſt-mânsar, and the Bak contain each twenty-two chapters, answering to the twenty-two Gâthas, of which they are mere commentaries or paraphrases. We possess small fragments of the Sûtkar [2] and one chapter of the Varſt-mânsar [3]. Three chapters of the Bak, which are commentaries to the three chief prayers aforesaid, have been incorporated in the Yasna [4].

Nothing is left of the Vaſtag, of which the Dînkart gives no analysis, as the author had neither its Avesta, nor its Zend (neither its original text, nor its Pahlavi translation), in an authentic form before him.

Of the Hâdhôkht we have three chapters counted as Yaſts [5], and one inserted in the Yasna [6].

The Spand, which is dedicated to the story of Zoroaster, has been indirectly preserved, in a modern form, in the Zardust Nâma and in Arḍâ Vîrâf's visit to hell.

[1] Gâthas (Yasna XXVIII–LIV) and Yasna XIV–XVII, XXII–XXVII, LVI.
[2] Fragments to Vd. II, 6; Tahmuras' Fragm. LXIV–LXVIII (?).
[3] Westergaard's Fragm. IV (=Farg. XXIII of the Varſt-mânsar Nask).
[4] Chapters XIX, XX, XXI.
[5] Yaſts XI and XXI, XXII.
[6] The so-called Fshûsha-mâthra (Yasna LVIII).

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§ 4. The Legal group contains:—

The Nîkâtûm (Dk. VIII, 16);
The Ganbâ-sar-nigat (Dk. VIII, 21);
The Hûspâram (Dk. VIII, 28);
The Sakâtûm (Dk. VIII, 38);
The Vendîdâd (Dk. VIII, 44);
The Kitradât (Dk. VIII, 13);
The Bakân Yast (Dk. VIII, 15).

Only the first five of these Nasks are strictly legal; the last two deal with cosmogony and mythology.

Of those five legal Nasks, one has been preserved in its entirety, the Vendîdâd[1]. The Nîkâtûm, the Ganbâ-sar-nigat, and the Sakâtûm are represented by a few fragments. An important section of the Hûspâram has been preserved, in text and translation, in the Pahlavi Erpatistân and Nîrangistân[2].

The Kitradât, which gives an historical account of mankind and Iran from the creation of the world till the advent of Zoroaster, has been indirectly preserved in part of the Bundahis and in the Shâhnâma.

The Bakân Yast was a collection of prayers in honour of the several Yazatas. From that Nask are derived sixteen of our Yasts, to which may be added the Hôm Yast (Yasna IX–XI) and the Srôsh Yast (Yasna LVII).

§ 5. The third group of Nasks, the Hadhamâthra, is the least known and the least well preserved. It contained:—

The Dâmdât (Dk. VIII, 5);
The Nâtar (Dk. VIII, 6);
The Pâgag (Dk. VIII, 7);
The Rat-dât-îtag (Dk. VIII, 8);
The Baris (Dk. VIII, 9);
The Kaskîsrav (Dk. VIII, 10);
The Vîstâsp-sâst (Dk. VIII, 11).

The Dâmdât was the Zoroastrian Genesis; the cosmogonic part of the Bundahis is derived from it. There remains one Zend fragment of it[3].

[1] See below, the Introduction to the Vendîdâd.
[2] See below, p. 300 seq.
[3] Fragm. Vd. H, 20 c.

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We know nothing of the Nâtar, of which the Dînkart has no analysis.

The Gâh and Sîrôza may be derived from the Pâ*g*ag that treats of the Gâhânbârs and of the relations between the liturgy and the divisions of time.

The Rat-dât-îtag treats of the arrangement of the sacrifice. It is represented by two fragments [1].

The Bari*s* is of an ethical character; the Ka*s*kîsrav teaches how to prevent the sacrifice being ill-managed and turning to the benefit of the demons. No fragment has been referred to either of these two Nasks with any certainty [2].

The Vî*s*tâsp-sâst, or 'the Introduction of Vî*s*tâsp,' treated of the conversion of Vî*s*tâsp by Zoroaster and of his wars against Ar*g*âsp. It is represented by the Vî*s*tâsp Ya*s*t (Yt. XXIV) and the Âfrîn Paighambar Zartû*s*t (Yt. XXIII). It is one of the sources of the Zardu*s*t Nâma.

§ 6. From this rapid review we may draw the following conclusions:—

(1) Out of the twenty-one Nasks of the Sassanian Avesta, we possess two in their entirety (the Vendîdâd and the Stôt Ya*s*t) and the most important part of a third (the Bakân Ya*s*t).

(2) We have a considerable part of four Nasks: the Bak, the Hâdhôkht, the Vî*s*tâsp-sâst, and the Hûspâram; and several fragments of most of the others.

(3) We know indirectly, through the medium of Pahlavi translations or compilations, the contents of many Nasks of which we have few or no remnants in their original language: the Dâmdât, the Vî*s*tâsp-sâst, the *K*itradât, and the Spand. In short we possess specimens, more or less considerable, of fifteen Nasks, and the complete text of the two Nasks which were considered all-important. For the Vendîdâd, being the book of purification; was to the priest the chief of the legal Nasks, and this is most

[1] Tahmuras' Fragm. LVIII; Fragm. to Vd. VII, 43.

[2] The quotations in the Pahlavi Nîrangistân may be referred to the Ka*s*kîsrav.

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likely the reason to which we owe its preservation. As to the Gâthas, they were already to the Zoroastrians of the Sassanian age just what they are to the Parsis of to-day: their paramount sanctity was the same as it is now, and their extent was the same, as appears from the fact that the three Gâthic Nasks which were developed around the Gâthas, or artificially attached to them, are composed each of twenty-two Fargards, answering one by one to the twenty-two Gâthas of our Yasna. Therefore the many losses that the Sassanian Avesta underwent in the last twelve centuries did not bear on the essential parts; and the loss, however considerable it may be, is neither absolute, as much of the matter survived under a Pahlavi garb, nor perhaps irreparable, as the Zend finds made in the Pahlavi literature afford a hope for fresh and more important recoveries, when that deep quarry, only half opened, has been worked out through all its strata.

§ 7. It is not only the general outlines of the Sassanian Avesta we find sketched in the Dînkart; it furnishes us also with a history of its formation [1], which may be summed up as follows:—

The twenty-one Nasks were formed by Ahura Mazda himself out of the twenty-one words of the Ahuna Vairya. They were brought by Zoroaster to king Vîstâsp. Two copies of the complete scriptures were written by order of the king: one was deposited in the treasury at Shapîgân, the other in the Record Office [2].

When Alexander invaded Persia, the copy in the Record Office was burnt, and the one in Shapîgân was carried off by the Greeks, who had it translated into their own language.

One of the Parthian kings, Valkhash, ordered all the scattered remnants of the Avesta, which had been preserved, either in manuscript or by oral tradition, to be searched for and collected.

[1] In two different concordant documents, one at the end of Dînkart III (West, l. l. pp. xxx and xxxi), the other in the beginning of Dînkart IV (ibid. 412–415).

[2] dez-î nipišt, 'the fortress for books:' cf. the Hebrew קריית ספר.

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The founder of the Sassanian dynasty, Ardashîr (211–241), called to his court the high-priest Tansar, gave him the commission to gather and complete the scattered fragments, and invested his work with official authority.

Ardashîr's son, Shâhpûhr I (241–272), ordered the documents relating to profane sciences (medicine, astronomy, geography, philosophy), which were scattered amongst the Hindus and the Greeks, to be collected and embodied in the Avesta.

At last Shâhpûhr II, son of Auhrmazd (309–379), to check the sects that were distressing the religion, ordered a general disputation between them: the champion of orthodoxy, Âdarbâd, son of Mahraspand, submitting himself to a fire-ordeal, went through it victoriously, and the king proclaimed: 'Now we have seen the true religion on earth, we will not suffer any false religion,' and he acted accordingly.

§ 8. This account may be divided into two parts, one extending from the origin to the time of Alexander, the other relating to the restoration of the Avesta after the Greek invasion. These two accounts differ widely in character, the first being vague and legendary, the second being precise in its data and its dates, referring also to an historical period. We shall here have to do only with the second document, of which the import is that the Avesta is a collection that was formed on three occasions out of old fragments: the first edition emanating from a Parthian king, Valkhash: the second from the first Sassanian king, Ardashîr Bâbagân (211–241); the third and last from king Shâhpûhr I (241–272). Let us consider each of these three times, one by one.

§ 9. One may be surprised, at first sight, by the part ascribed to an Arsacide prince in this religious evolution [1]. Most Byzantine, Parsi, and Muhammedan writers agree that it was the Sassanian dynasty which raised the Zoroastrian religion from the state of humiliation into which the Greek invasion had made it sink, and, while it gave the

[1] Spiegel, Eranische Alterthumskunde III, 782, n. 1.

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signal for a revival of the old national spirit, made Mazdeism one of the corner stones of the new establishment [1]. Therefore it seems strange to hear that the first step taken to make Mazdeism a state religion was taken by one of those very Philhellenic Parthian princes, who were fully imbued with Greek ideas and manners. Yet this view must not be accepted unreservedly. Ardashîr is nowhere mentioned as professing a religion different from that of his predecessors. In the struggle between Ardavân and Ardashîr, there was no religious interest at stake, but only a political one ; and we are expressly told by Hamza [2] that Ardashîr and his adversaries belonged to the same confession. Nay, we shall see that one of the charges brought against him, by his adversaries, was his wanton infraction of the Zoroastrian laws. There is therefore nothing that makes it impossible to admit that in the time and at the court of a Parthian prince a Zoroastrian movement may have originated.

§ 10. There were four kings at least [3] who bore the name of Valkhash : the most celebrated and best known of the four was Vologeses I, the contemporary of Nero. Now that Zoroastrianism prevailed with him, or at least around him, we see from the conduct of his brother Tiridates, who was a Magian (Magus) [4] ; and by this term we must not understand a magician [5], but a Zoroastrian priest. That he was a priest appears from Tacitus' testimony [6] ; that he was a Zoroastrian is shown by his scruples about the wor-

[1] S. de Sacy, Mémoires sur quelques antiquités de la Perse. Cf. Maçoudi, II, 125.

[2] Hamzae Ispahensis Annales, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 31 (in the translation).

[3] Perhaps five (see de Longpérier, Mémoire sur la Numismatique des Arsacides, p. 111).

[4] 'Magus ad eum Tiridates venerat' (Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXX, 6).

[5] Pliny very often confounds Magism and Magia, Magians and Magicians. We know from Pliny, too, that Tiridates refused to initiate Nero into his art ; but the cause was not, as he assumes, that it was 'a detestable, frivolous, and vain art,' but because Mazdean law forbids the holy knowledge to be revealed to laymen, much more to foreigners (Yast IV, 10 ; cf. Philostrati Vita Soph. I, 10).

[6] 'Nec recusaturum Tiridatem accipiendo diademati in urbem venire, nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur' (Ann. XV, 24).

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ship of the elements. When he came from Asia to Rome to receive the crown of Armenia at the hands of Nero, he avoided coming by sea, and rode along the coasts[1], 'because the Magi are forbidden to defile the sea[2].' This is quite in the spirit of later Zoroastrianism, and savours much of Mazdeism. That Vologeses himself shared the religious scruples of his brother appears from his answer to Nero, who insisted upon his coming to Rome also: 'Come yourself, it is easier for you to cross such immensity of sea[3].' What we know moreover of his personal character qualifies him for taking the initiative in a religious work. He seems to have been a man of contemplative mind rather than a man of action, which often excited the anger or scorn of his people against him; he had the glory of breaking with the family policy of Parthian kings by giving his brothers a share in the empire, instead of strangling them (Tacitus, Annales, XV, 1, 2). At that time the East was in religious fermentation; Christianity was in its infancy; gnostic sects were rife: moreover religion was fast becoming part of politics. Vologeses was called by the people of Adiabene against their king Izates, who had turned Jew (Josephus, Antiq. XX, 4, 2) and himself offered the help of his cavalry to Vespasian against Jerusalem.

The namesakes of Vologeses I had too short or too uncertain a lease of power for any one of them to be likely to compete with him as the author of that first religious restoration. We shall therefore assume that the Valkhash of the Dînkart is the same as Vologeses I[4], and, in this hypothesis, we will ascribe the first collection of Zoroastrian fragments to the third quarter of the first century (50–75),

[1] He crossed only the Hellespont.

[2] 'Navigare noluerat, quoniam inspuere in maria, aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant' (Pliny, l. l. Cf. Introd. X, 8 seq.)

[3] Dio Cassius, LXIII, 4. The answer was mistaken for an insult by Nero, and, as it seems, by Dio himself. In fact Vologeses remained to the last faithful to the memory of Nero (Suet. Nero, 57).

[4] This hypothesis, which was for the first time proposed in the first edition of this translation (1880), seems to have been generally accepted (Gutschmid, 'Persia,' in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, XVIII, 603; West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 413, note 5).

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which is nearly the time when the first evangelical narratives were written.

§ 11. Between Vologeses and Ardashîr, for nearly two centuries, there is a blank in the religious history of Iran. With Ardashîr, Zoroastrianism became the religion of the state. The founder of the new dynasty belonged, through his grandmother, to one of the local royal families of Persia, the Bazrangis, and through his grandfather, Sâsân, to the sacerdotal race. Sâsân had in his hands the management of the temple of Anâhita (the Iranian Artemis) at Istakhar. By birth a king and a priest, Ardashîr reduced to a formula the throne-and-altar theory: 'Be aware, my son,' he wrote in his political testament, 'that religion and royalty are two brothers that cannot subsist one without the other; for royalty rests on religion and religion has royalty to protect it[1].' Agathias reports that Ardashîr was initiated in the doctrine of the Magi and could himself celebrate their mysteries; that, from his accession to the throne, their race, formerly little honoured, got the upper hand both in public and private affairs; they became his constant counsellors, and had the management of justice in their hands. Whereas the Parthians boasted their title of Philhellenist, the Sassanian king styled himself Mazdayasn, 'Worshipper of Mazda.' It seemed as if Ahura Mazda had ascended the throne with him.

§ 12. Ardashîr had a man of the name of Tansar to help him in his work of religious restoration. He had been one of those petty local sovereigns called Mulûk ut-tavâif, 'Kings of provinces,' among whom the Iranian empire was divided under the nominal suzerainty of the Parthian emperor. 'Belonging to the Platonic sect[2],' he had given up his throne to his son and embraced a religious life. When Ardashîr rose up against the Mulûk ut-tavâif, Tansar welcomed him as the saviour of the empire, became his missionary, preached submission to him, and sent preachers in his interest through the provinces[3]. He had written an

[1] Maçoudi, Les prairies d'or, II, 162. [2] Maçoudi, II, 161.
[3] Kitâb et-tanbîh, ed. de Goeje, 99. Cf. S. de Sacy, in Maçoudi, IX, 329.

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apology of Ardashîr in answer to a reproachful letter from one of the princes threatened by Ardashîr's ambition, Gasnasf, king of Tabaristân. Tansar's letter, translated from the original Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa, in the middle of the eighth century, and nearly five centuries later (1210 A. D.) from Arabic into Persian by Muhammad bin ul-Hasan, author of a history of Tabaristân, has come down to us in its secondary form, not free from interpolations which are easily detected, so that the original authentic text is clearly recognisable under the modern accretions[1].

That letter, which is the oldest and most important record of the religious history of Zoroastrian Persia, sets in a strong light the moral forces that made the success of the Sassanian revolution. Ardashîr was the happy leader of a necessary reaction against the political anarchy of the Parthian system, and against the moral, social, and religious anarchy that was the outcome of the political one.

The Parthian kings, in the last two centuries of the dynasty, had been hardly more than feudal chiefs, only so far recognised by the local princes (the Mulûk ut-tavâif) as they had strength to make themselves recognised. Each province had its own dynasty, old or new. The legend ran that Alexander, on his death-bed, fearing lest Persia, after his death, should revenge her wrongs on Greece, listened to the perfidious advice of his vizier Aristotle and divided Iran between ninety petty sovereigns, to weaken her for ever. Such was at any rate the condition of Iran in the beginning of the third century A. D. It was in order to restore the unity of the Iranian empire that Ardashîr rose. He suppressed those of the Mulûk ut-tavâif who declined to recognise him as king of kings, and sent their heads as trophies to Anâhita's temple[2]. It was decided by a council of Magi that those Mulûk who would come and deposit their crowns at the feet of the Shâhinshâh, to receive

[1] See the text and translation of that letter (Lettre de Tansar au Roi de Tabaristan) in the Journal Asiatique, 1894, I, 185–250, 502–555.

[2] Tabari.

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them again from his hands, would retain their title of Shâh[1]. At the time when Tansar wrote, fourteen years had elapsed since Ardashîr had begun his work: a part of it was done, the unity of the empire was restored: the only political task that remained to be performed was to avenge Dara's murder on Alexander's successors, and to exact from them the old tribute they had formerly paid to Persia for Egypt and Syria[2].

§ 13. Then remained the work of moral restoration. The Shâhinshâh's second task is to re-establish 'the law of the Ancients' (سنّة اوّلينان[3]). How shall that ideal of the past be brought again to light? There lay the difficulty, as the Avesta was all but lost, and the tradition of the law had been obliterated by revolutions and anarchy. 'You know that Alexander burnt in Istakhar[4] our sacred books written on twelve thousand ox-hides. There remained something of it in memory, but it was only legends and traditions[5]: nothing more was known of the religious laws and ordinances[6]; and at last, by the corruption of the men of those times, by the disappearance of the law, the love of novelties and apocrypha[7] and the wish for notoriety, even those legends and traditions passed away from the memory of the people, so that there was not a particle authentic

[1] Journal Asiatique, l. l. 513–514.

[2] 'Now the Shâhinshâh intends to go to war against Rûm and he will not rest till he has avenged Dara's blood on the Alexandrides, enriched his own treasury and the treasury of the state, and restored the towns which Alexander spitefully destroyed in Fârs. He must exact from them the tribute which they always paid to our kings for the Coptic country and Syria, which our kings had formerly conquered in the land of the Hebrews, at the time of the invasion of Bokht-Nasr' (l. l. pp. 548–549).—Ardashîr's pretensions are expressed by Herodian in terms remarkably concordant with those in Tansar's letter: 'He pretended to have unquestionable rights to the possession of all the provinces in Asia lying between the Euphrates, the Aegean sea, and the Propontis: as all those countries, as far as Ionia and Caria, had always been governed by satraps of their nation from the days of Cyrus, who transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians, to the time of Darius, who was conquered by Alexander: therefore by entering into possession of the old heritage of his ancestors he would not wrong the Romans.' (Journal Asiatique, 1894, p. 549.)

[3] The Paoiryô *d*kaêsô in the Avesta.

[4] Persepolis.

[5] قصص و احاديث.

[6] شرايع و احكام.

[7] حرص بدعت و تمويها.

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left. Therefore we must absolutely have an upright and honest man to revise the Religion[1].' Tansar himself confesses that Ardashîr does not pretend to re-establish the old order in its entirety, nor even to keep it free from the admixture of new elements. He takes liberties with it, and, whereas he comes forward to correct the new order (sunnati âkhirîn) by the light of the older one, he does not waive the right of correcting what may be wrong in the old law. Therefore, by his own confession, his restoration is an adaptation. How little he was embarrassed in his work by the authority of authentic written texts, Tansar lets us easily guess, 'When the Shâhinshâh wants to suppress any iniquity of the Ancients, which does not suit the necessities of the present, they say: "This is the old custom, it is the rule of the Ancients." Iniquity, past or present, is a thing to be reproved, whether it comes from the Ancients or from the Moderns. But the Shâhinshâh has power over the Religion, and God is his ally[2]; and in this destroying and changing of the order of tyranny, I see him better armed and adorned with more virtues than the Ancients. No king attempted what he did. The Religion being lost and history forgotten, what man could judge him? Besides, even in the times when men had perfect knowledge of their religion and were closely attached to it, they felt the need of a powerful and wise king in times of doubt; for if the Religion is not enlightened by reason, it has no steadiness[3].'

It is no wonder therefore that Zoroastrians of the time may have considered Ardashîr a sacrilegious heretic. One of his acts that created the greatest indignation was that he had the sacred fires of the Mulûk ut-tavâif extinguished: a crime that would have cost any other man his life: 'no man before him,' exclaimed king Gasnasf, 'had ventured on such a sacrilege.' Tansar threw back the charge of sacrilege on the shoulders of the Mulûk ut-ṭavâif: they

[1] Lettre de Tansar, l. l. p. 212.

[2] و این شاه مسلّط است بر دین و حق با او یار.

[3] دین را تا رای بیان نکند قوامی نباشد.

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had no right to have a second fire of their own: 'it was a bad innovation, contrary to the custom of the old kings.' It is more likely that the unity of the royal fire was a new dogma, invented on the spur of the moment to serve the usurper's political devices; and Âtar himself, when found to favour anarchy, was treated like any other rebel. In fact many were the laws, introduced by Ardashîr, that were disapproved by public opinion as unwarranted innovations: such were the laws on the strict division of the people into classes with their functions, rights, and distinctive marks; and the laws on heredity. His restoring the Law of the Ancients, said *G*asnasf, is nothing else than destroying the real Law[1].

§ 14. How far these reforms were represented as resting on the mere will and reason of the king, or on the authority of religious texts, we do not know. As to the religious texts themselves, and their collection into a body of doctrines, the Dînkart has the following: 'Ardashîr had all the scattered teaching (âmôk-î pargandak) brought together to the capital under the high authority of Tansar; Tansar came; him alone he accepted (frâ*g* patîraft); and from all the others he took away authority.' In other words, among the Zoroastrian schools, there were current several collections of religious texts, more or less authentic, and it was the one taught by Tansar that was stamped by Ardashîr with an official character. From another text in the Dînkart it appears that the Ardashîr compilation contained two classes of texts: texts that were incorporated as they were, and other texts that were conjecturally restored by Tansar, the Pôryôtkê*s*, so as to make a collection that should be an exact reproduction of the Vîstâsp Avesta, the lost treatise of Shapîgân[2]: which is as much as saying that the Ardashîr Avesta is a compound of texts anterior to Tansar and texts emanating from Tansar, the whole being an ideal restoration of a primitive Avesta, of the 'old law' or of what was supposed to be the old law, in the time of Ardashîr.

[1] Journal Asiatique, 1894, No. 3, p. 514.

[2] See the text in the Guimet Zend-Avesta, III, p. xxxi, note 2.

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§ 15. Ardashîr's collection was not a canon closed. His successor Shâhpûhr I (241–272), the conqueror of Valerianus, had, we are told, the scientific and philosophic fragments, scattered in India and Greece, collected and embodied in the Avesta. This is a confession that part of the Avesta was translated or imitated from foreign sources: but it is a confession that a Zoroastrian might easily make, as it was an accepted legend that Alexander had the Avesta translated into Greek, so that they could borrow back from the Greeks without being indebted to them. To us it tells a different tale, namely, that the scientific Nasks of the Avesta[1], of which unfortunately very little is left[2], were written under Shâhpûhr I, in imitation of Greek and Sanskrit scientific treatises.

§ 16. It was not to be expected that a body of Scriptures, formed so recently and with such visible accretions, should obtain at once sufficient authority to command universal respect and check the sectarian spirit. In vain did Ardashîr put the secular arm at the service of the new orthodoxy[3]: the inquisition disgusted the older generation and could not ensure the triumph of one particular system. The old free believers, not yet confined in the immovable limits of orthodox dogma, went on growing and branching off into independent heresies. One of these, Manicheism, became at one moment powerful even at the court of Shâhpûhr. The execution of Manes under Shâhpûhr's successor, Bahrâm I (272–276), did not stop the progress of the heresies, and it was only under Shâhpûhr II (309–379) that, through Âdarbâd Mahraspand's devotion, the ortho-

[1] The fragments treating of medicine and astronomy, time and space, nature and creation, generation and corruption (yahvûnishn vinâsishn; γένεσις καὶ φθάρσις; عالم كون و فساد, Tansar, p. 10 b).

[2] Of the Hadha-mâthra Nasks the contents of only one are sufficiently known (the Dâmdâd).

[3] 'The Shâhinshâh has ordered that if a man swerve from the Religion he should be put in prison, and that for a whole year without ceasing the clergy should read to him, and admonish him, and give him proofs and dissipate his doubts. If he repent and confess his error, he is set at liberty; if through obstinacy and pride he harden in infidelity, he is put to death.' (Letter of Tansar, fol. 12 a.)—Cf. Vd. XVIII, 9, 10; Mînôkhard XV, 22–25.

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dox doctrine prevailed in a decisive way. After a public controversy with his opponents, he appealed to God's judgment and had molten brass poured on his breast: he went through the ordeal unscathed, and confounded the heretics. During the ordeal he may have repeated the Gâtha lines:—

'O Good Spirit, Ahura Mazda, by thy fire thou decidest between the opponents, according to the greater degree of piety and sanctity; and many of those who see it believe in thy law' (Yasna XLVII, 6).

The king announced that the true religion having manifested itself in a visible way, any false religion (ag-dînîh) could be tolerated no more. That great religious event must have taken place about the year 330; for the persecution of the Christians began in that year. It was about the time when the Fathers at Nicaea organised Christianity into an orthodox state religion.

After Âdarbâd the canon was closed. Whether he added his contribution to the bulk of the sacred texts, like his predecessors under Ardashîr and Shâhpûhr, there is no evidence either to prove or disprove: in any case, the Avesta after him underwent no change of any sort. The Parsi tradition makes him the last of the founders of the religion, and, forgetting the teachers between Zoroaster and Âdarbâd, makes these two names the Alpha and Omega of the Avesta history[1].

CHAPTER IV.

Parthian Elements in the Avesta.

§ 1. From the preceding it appears that the Sassanian Avesta, as fixed by Âdarbâd Mahraspand in the beginning

[1] The Patet sums up the religious tradition as follows:—

'I keep steady in the religion which the Lord Hôrmezd and the Amshaspands taught the worshipped Frôhar of Zartusht, the Spitamide;

'which Zartusht taught Vîstâsp;

'which Vîstâsp taught Frashôshtar, Jâmâsp, and Isfandyâr;

'which the latter taught the faithful in this world;

'which by a continuous tradition came down to the ordainer of the holy law, Âdarbâd Mahraspand, who for its sake submitted to the ordeal and came out of it victoriously.'

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of the fourth century, represents three successive accretions at least, the first due to Vologeses in the middle of the first century, the second to Ardashîr and Tansar in the middle of the third century, and the third to Shâhpûhr I, at the end of the same. Now we must inquire whether the texts of these successive editions belong, all or in part, to an older Avesta, anterior to the Greek conquest. The evidence in the Dînkart and in Tansar's letter prepares us to suppose that the post-Alexandrian element, at least as far as the form goes, must be considerable. The internal evidence allows us to give greater precision to that inference.

§ 2. One of the best-known and most brilliant pieces of the Avesta, the Hôm Yast, appears to contain an allusion to Alexander. It is said of Haoma, the plant-god, whose worship is the centre of the Mazdean liturgy, that 'he overthrew the usurping Keresâni who arose, longing for sovereignty, and said: henceforth no priest will go at his wish through the country to teach the law.' Now, the only persecutor of religion of whom Parsi tradition makes mention before the Arabs is Alexander. He is the third in that trinity of tyrants created by Ahriman, who desired to have made them immortal for the destruction of the world. But the first two, Zohâk and Afrâsyâb, were born and died before Zarathustra was born, so that Alexander alone of the three could appear as an anti-Zoroastrian persecutor; which makes us wonder whether the usurper confounded by Haoma might not be the Greek conqueror. Now that epithet Keresâni, literally a bandit, is translated or transcribed in Pahlavi by Kilisyâk, which is the name given in the Pahlavi literature to the infidels of Rûm. Therefore, for the old mediaeval tradition the Keresâni usurper was neither a dêv nor a Turanian, he was a Greek. If the Keresâni persecutor were a Greek, he could be no other than Alexander. A mediaeval Pahlavi apocalypse, the Bahman Yast (II, 19), passing in review the restorers of religion, begins with the Arsacide who destroyed 'the impious Alexander, the Kilisyâk.'

If the Keresâni is Alexander, the passage quoted and the

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whole of the Hôm Yast, which forms a coherent whole, cannot have been written before the death of Alexander or more accurately before the fall of the Greek domination in Persia. It was about 150 B.C. that Mithridates the Great (B.C. 171–137) dealt the last blow to the Kilisyâk. Therefore the Hôm Yast could hardly have been written before the middle of the second century before our era.

§ 3. If the Avesta, or part of it, were composed under the Arsacidae, an important fact, otherwise unaccounted for, is explained ipso facto: namely the fact that the Avesta seems to ignore the existence of an Iranian empire. The highest political unity is the dahyu, a name which in the inscriptions of Darius denoted the satrapies, the provincial kingdoms of Media, Bactriana, Sogdiana, Arachosia, Aria, Parthia, &c. The highest political power is the daNhupaiti, the chief of a dahyu. The one universal daNhupaiti, the one daNhupaiti of all dahyus, is Mithra[1]. This refers to a time when there was no real daNhupaiti of all dahyus, no Shâhinshâh, when the real power was in the hands of the independent local kings. This is the period of the Provincial kings, the Mulûk ut-tavâif; and this very name, Mulûk ut-tavâif, is nothing less than a literal translation of the Zend daNhupaiti.

§ 4. At the time when the Avesta took its definitive form, Chaldaea was inhabited by Arab tribes, it was already a sort of Irâq Arabî. To the writer of the Avesta, Babylon (Bawri) is the residence of Aži Dahâka[2], and Aži Dahâka represents the Arab race. It is not only in the later Shâhnâma that he is made the son of an Arab king; both the Bundahiš, which reproduces old Avesta documents[3], and the Avesta book of the Genealogies itself, made him a descendant of Tâg, the eponym of the

[1] Yasna I, 11.

[2] Yt. V, 29.—Elsewhere, Yt. XV, 19, Aži is described as offering up a sacrifice to Vayu in the unaccessible Kvirišta. We know from Hamza (p. 32) that this was the name of a palace (the Kulang palace, the fortress of the Stork) which Aži Dahâka had built in Babylon.

[3] Son of Khrûtâsp (corrupted to Mardâs in Firdausi), son of Zâînigâv, son of Vîrafshang, son of Tâg (Bund. XXXI, 6).

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Tâgik[1]. Now the oldest period known when the Arabs settled along the Euphrates and Tigris is the second half of the Arsacide period. We know that at that time Holwân was on the frontier between the Iranians and Arabs. The region east of Holwân 'was in the hands of the Provincial kings (Mulûk ut-tavâif = daNhu-paitis) who were all Persians, and did not recognise the authority of the Arabs. Irâq and Savâd remained in the hands of the Arabs, who were waging a perpetual war with one another, as they are used to do[2].' Therefore the texts in which the Arab Azi Dahâka appears as reigning in Babylon belong to a time when Arabs were already settled in Mesopotamia.

A certain Zaini-gâus or Zâînîgâv[3] is mentioned once in the Avesta as being conquered and killed by Frangrasyan[4] who on that one occasion was invested with the royal *Hv*arenô and who, accordingly, in the Shâhnâma, is credited with having delivered Iran from an Arab invasion: in the absence of Kaî-Kâûs, it says, invaders flowed over Iran from every side, both Turanians and Arabs: 'the Arabs were conquered by the Turanians.' Perhaps the key to the Afrâsyâb enigma is here. One can hardly understand how the Turanians beyond the Oxus, whom Afrâsyâb is supposed to represent, could repel the Arabs coming from over the Euphrates. But one must bear in mind that Afrâsyâb's career ends on the banks of the *K*aêkasta lake, in Âdarbaigân[5], north of Mesopotamia. On another side, the legendary history of Yemen tells of the Tubba'h Abû Kurrub's invasions into Mesopotamia and his struggles with

[1] Tâg, a brother of Hôshang and the ancestor of the Tâgîks (*K*îtradâd Nask, in Dînkart VIII, 13, 8).

[2] Tabari, tr. Zotenberg, II, 8–9. The Hatra, Hîra, and Ghassanian kingdoms were already flourishing in the first century of our era. The Ghassanians reigned at Damas when Paulus was a prisoner there.

[3] Bearing the same name as Azi Dahâka's grandfather (p. xlix).

[4] Yt. XIX, 93. The translation in the Sacred Books of the East is to be corrected as follows: 'that glory that Frangrasyan, the Turanian, bore, when the wicked Zainigau was killed.' (Cf. Greater Bundahis: 'There was a fiend called Zînîgâv who had poison in his eye: he had come from the country of the Arabs to reign on Iran-Shahr: any man he gazed at with his evil eye, he killed. The Iranians called Frâsyâv into their country, he killed that Zînîgâv.')

[5] Yt. XVII, 42.

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the Turanians of Âdarbaigân[1]; so that the wars of Frangrasyan and Zainigau may be an echo of the predatory struggles between the Arabs from the south and those Turanians of north-western Iran who were for centuries the plague of that country, and whom Khusrô Nôshirvân tried at last to imprison in the Caucasus.

CHAPTER V.

Brâhmanical, Buddhist, and Greek Elements.

§ 1. The political and social circumstances which the Avesta reflects being those of the Parthian time, one may easily expect to find in its doctrine the reaction of those civilisations, or religions, which flourished during that period either in Iran or in the neighbouring countries. In fact, we find in the Avesta either polemics against, or loans from, the great contemporary systems, the Brâhmanical, the Buddhist, the Greek, and the Jewish.

§ 2. The true Zoroastrian is called a Mazdayasna, 'a worshipper of Mazda[2],' in contradistinction to the Daêvayasna, 'the worshipper of the Daêvas.' Daêva is generally understood as 'a demon,' and that is the meaning it has in the derived dêv and in most of the Zend texts generally; as it is applied to the evil forces of nature, like the Wind-Daêva, or to the evil forces of the soul, like Aêshma, 'Wrath;' Akem Manô, 'Bad Thought;' Tarômaiti, 'Pride.' But it must also have applied to false gods, for the Daêvayasna is not a bad Zoroastrian, it is a man who does not belong to the Zoroastrian system, it is a foreigner, an Anaryan. Doctors must practise on Daêvayasnas before treating Mazdayasnas, which is a rule clear and practical only if the Daêvayasna is a worshipper of the false gods, of Indian, Assyrian, or Greek idols; for the test is simple enough. The word may have applied first and more

[1] Tabari, I, 505; Hamza, tr. p. 98.

[2] The Sassanian kings took on their coins the title of Mazdayasn, instead of the Philhellen of the Arsacidae.

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especially to the Indian religions and to the worshippers of Devas.

§ 3. The disparaging meaning of the word Deva in Zoroastrianism was formerly interpreted as a sign that Zoroaster's religion was born in an Indo-Iranian period, from a moral reaction against Vedic polytheism, which sent to hell the former gods. This theory, as far as I can see, has no longer any supporter: it has been seen that it all rests on a few lexicographical particularities, not on inner historical evidence. In fact Zoroastrianism has much in common with the Vedic Pantheon; its supreme God, Ahura Mazda, is not more different from the great Asura, Varu*n*a, than Zeus is from Jupiter; the Zoroastrian Apollo, Mithra, answers exactly to the Vedic Mitra. The worship is centred on both sides around the sacred plant (Soma—Haoma) and the sacred fire (Agni—Âtar). The mythological struggle between the God of the Lightning, Indra, and the serpent Ahi is transferred to Âtar (the Fire) and A*z*i. Yama, son of Vîvasvat, and Traitana revive in Yima, son of Vivangha*n*t, and Thraêtaona. How those analogies are to be accounted for, whether they are the relics of an old Indo-Iranian religion, or whether they have been, entirely or partly, borrowed from either side by the other, remains an open question, which we are neither prepared to answer in the negative, nor to answer at all. But thus much is clear that there is not the slightest evidence or symptom of any such inner upheaval, rejecting a Vedic or quasi-Vedic religion, as was supposed to have taken place in prehistoric periods.

§ 4. This only remains, that when Zoroastrianism, with the exclusive character which belongs to moral religions, wanted to brand and condemn the most dangerous rival it encountered amongst its neighbours, it found no more characteristic name to designate the false gods and the demons than the name given to divine beings in the false religions of India which had so many followers in the eastern provinces of the empire. It went so far as to take the names of three Indian devas to designate those arch-demons which it opposes artificially and systematically to the Amesha-Spe*n*tas; they are I*n*dra, Saurva, and

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Naunghaithya, given as counterparts to Asha Vahista, 'Perfect Righteousness;' Khshathra Vairya, 'Good Government;' and Spenta Ârmaiti, 'Humility.' There is nothing in their Avesta character that reminds one of Indra the Storm God, of Sarva a name of Siva, or of Nâsatya the Asvin; they are Wickedness, Tyranny, and Pride, by the mere fact of their opposition to the three Amshaspands, and it appears clear thereby that their present character is not the result of a prolonged evolution in the inner circle of Zoroastrianism.

§ 5. The Daêva Bûiti who, by order of Angra Mainyu, tries to kill Zarathustra on his being born, is according to the Greater Bundahis 'the demon who resides in the idols' (bût), and is the same as Bûtâsp worshipped in India. Bûtâsp, the founder of the Samanean or Buddhist sect, is no less a personage than the Bodhisattva, from which it follows that Bûiti is nothing but the object of the Buddhist worship, the Buddha, or better the Bodhi. In fact once Bûiti is called Bûidhi[1]. Therefore, at the time when the legend of Zarathustra was written down, Buddhism was one of the religions with which he was supposed to have to struggle. The composer of the nineteenth Fargard of the Vendîdâd, therefore, knew of Buddhism, and this accounts for the striking analogies between the legend of Zarathustra's temptation by Angra Mainyu and Sakya's temptation by Mâra. The Zoroastrian writer thought it fair to borrow such an edifying legend from the very religion he opposed.

§ 6. Another passage in the Yasts mentions controversies victoriously carried on by Zoroastrians against that impostor Gaotema. Here, again, it is striking to find Zoroastrians engaged in religious warfare with an enemy who bears one of the names of Buddha, Gotama. Controversies were to the taste of both sects: Gotama, in the Gâtakas, seems to pass all his life in confounding heretics; and late tradition ascribes to Zoroaster, as one of his most

[1] Farg. XI, 9.

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glorious feats, the defeat and conversion of a great Indian sage *K*angraga*k*a.

§ 7. Buddhism was brought beyond the Indus as early as A*s*oka's reign, though it was only under the Graeco-Bactrian kings (250–125 B.C.) and under the Indo-Greeks (first century before Christ) that it spread widely in the eastern provinces of Iran. One of the greatest Indo-Greeks, Menander—Milinda, was revered as a Buddhist saint. In the middle of the first century B.C. Bactriana was famed for its Buddhist priests, the Σαμαναῖοι, the Shamans. In the first century of our era, Kanishka's coins present, in an instructive eclecticism, all the deities of the Indo-Scythian empire, Greek gods, Brahmanical devas, Buddha, and the principal yazatas of Mazdeism. If therefore the alleged allusions to Buddhism are accepted, the Avesta passages where they occur cannot have been written earlier than the second century before our era, though they may bear a later date, as Buddhism was uprooted from Eastern Iran only by Islam.

§ 8. We have already seen that Alexander was known to the composer of the Hôm Yast, nay more, that it must be posterior to the fall of the Greek domination in Iran (about 150 B.C.). There was time enough for Greek influence to permeate the Zoroastrian schools, and so it did.

§ 9. The doctrine of the Magi on the duration of the world prevalent during the Achaemenian period is known from Theopompus, a writer contemporary with Philip and Alexander. The existence of the world is divided into periods of three thousand years. During the first two periods Ormazd and Ahriman reign alternately; during the third period they struggle, and destroy each other's work; at the end, Ahriman is conquered and men live happily, needing no food and casting no shadow.

This same doctrine is found in Zoroastrian books, but with a characteristic difference. The world lasts four periods of three thousand years each: the third period is filled, as in Theopompus, with the mixture and conflict of the two principles; the fourth period, that opens with the apparition of Zoroaster and the true religion, ends with the ruin of

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Ahriman, the resurrection and future life. But in the first two periods the agreement ceases. In the pre-Alexandrian conception, each period belongs to each of the two principles in turn; the spirit of the Zoroastrian doctrine is quite mystical. During three thousand years the world had only a spiritual, unseen form, and it remained uncorrupted, unmoving, not perceptible. In the next period of three thousand years, it received material form and began to move, though it was still free from Ahriman.

§ 10. That period of spiritual, ideal existence of the world, preceding its material and sensible apparition, reminds one strikingly of the Platonic ideas, and it can hardly have entered Zoroastrianism before Greek philosophy penetrated the East. This hypothesis will seem less bold than it does at first sight, if we remember that, on the confession of old Parsi tradition itself, texts on 'generation and corruption' (yahvûnishn u-vînâsishn), recovered from the Greeks, were embodied in the sacred books as late as the end of the third century of our era; and that the high-priest Tansar, the man who played so important a part in Ardashîr's religious revolution, was expressly represented as a member of the Platonic sect. Without pressing conclusions too hard as to facts and dates, this much can be safely inferred from the preceding, that Platonic doctrines had found their way to Persia in the first centuries of the Christian era.

Platonism of course means Neo-Platonism, that is to say that philosophic compound, inspired by the spirit of Plato, which permeated all the speculations of the centuries before Christ and long after, and which finds its first and most influential expression in Philo Judaeus. In Philo is found, as far as I know, the first exact parallel to the Avesta doctrine mentioned above. As God perceived that no work can be beautiful but from a beautiful model, and that any sensible object needs an ideal archetype, 'when he wanted to create this visible world, he first drew the intelligible one' (*βουληθεὶς τὸν ὁρατὸν τουτονὶ κόσμον δημιουργῆσαι, προεξετύπου τὸν νοητόν*). The *ὁρατὸς κόσμος* is the gaêthya sti, the *νοητός* is the mainyava.

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§ 11. The first Genius under Ahura is Vohu Manô, 'Good Thought,' who is his first spiritual creation and the moving principle of the world. He was created first of all beings; through him in the beginning Ahura created the world and the religion; and Ahura takes his advice before proceeding to any of his acts. Besides being his first creation and the instrument of his other creations, he is the type of mankind. At last, in the next world, he is the intercessor between Ahura and man.

When we define Vohu Manô in the words of the Avesta, we define the Logos: and inversely Vohu Manô may be defined in the same terms as Philo's Λόγος Θεῖος: 'as the first manifestation of the divine powers, he is the first-born, the first archangel of God; as an ideal type of human nature, he is the perfect man.' Like Vohu Manô in the Gâthas and still more, the Logos is the instrument of creation. Like him, he is the perfect intercessor, for he applies to the Father to obtain for men the forgiveness of sins and plenty of benefits. As Zarathustra applies to Vohu Manô for his first instruction, so is the Logos the messenger of God, his elect, the transmitter of his revelations. Both Philo's Logos and the Avesta Vohu Manô are God's first-born and first instrument, the ideal man, the intercessor, the revealer.

§ 12. If Vohu Manô is a Zoroastrian adaptation of the Logos, it will follow that the Amshaspands themselves are a post-Alexandrian development; for Vohu Manô is the type of the Amshaspands. As Vohu Manô was chosen to represent mankind, so there grew up round this initial ideal divine abstractions that might be attached, somehow, to the other departments of nature to help like Vohu Manô, and with him, in the creation of the world. This is the series of the six Amesha Spentas:

Vohu Manô,	Good Thought,	reigning over	Man (and cattle).
Asha Vahista,	Perfect Righteousness,	„	Fire.
Khshathra Vairya,	Good Royalty,	„	Metals.
Spenta Ârmaiti,	Pious Modesty,	„	Earth.
Haurvatât,	Health,	„	Waters.
Ameretât,	Immortality,	„	Plants.

Here again Philo presents us with a striking parallel.

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Between God and the world, the Logos is only the first of a series of divine abstractions or powers (λόγοι, or δυνάμεις): in one passage, unfortunately mutilated, he enumerates six of them, the Θεῖος λόγος being the first. The third, ἡ βασιλική, 'the Royal virtue,' answers literally to the third member of the Zoroastrian series, Khshathra Vairya. The other members of the Philonian series ποιητική, 'the Creative virtue;' ἵλεως, 'the power of Mercy;' νομοθετική, 'the Legislative virtue,' have no counterpart in the Avesta series, which prevents our attributing any particular historical importance to the coincidence of Khshathra Vairya with the βασιλική: yet the coincidence is not quite accidental: it was made possible only by the fact that both Philo and the organisers of the Avesta system moved in a common atmosphere of moral and metaphysical abstractions. In fact ἵλεως, though not one of the Amesha Spe*n*tas, might have become one, and in fact is consecrated and invoked with Khshathra Vairya under the name of Mare*z*dika[1], 'Mercy.' The νομοθετική is sanctified in *d*kaê*s*a, 'the Law,' or in Mãthra Spe*n*ta, 'the Holy Word.'

This is the Gnostic atmosphere, and the Gâthas, which are, on the whole, a poem to the glory of the Amesha Spe*n*tas and the virtues they impersonate, may be termed the first monument of Gnosticism, but of practical, purely ethic Gnosticism, permeated by a strong sense of reality and a deep pre-occupation with morality: abstraction here is only a means of edification. Philo is nearer the true Gnostics than the writers of the Gâthas: they were mere moralists, with no metaphysical instinct.

CHAPTER VI.

Jewish Elements in the Religion.

§ 1. The Jewish influence, less visible in the doctrine than the Greek, is prominent in the general views and the form of the book.

[1] Yt. II, 2, 7.

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The Avesta and the Pentateuch are the only two religious books known in which legislation descends from the heavens to the earth in a series of conversations between the lawgiver and his God. Without attaching undue importance to this correspondence, we shall be more impressed with the fact that both books have the same object, viz. to write the history of the creation and mankind; and in mankind, more especially, the history of the elect race (the Iranians here, the Hebrews there), and in that race the history of the true religion (the religion of Mazda, revealed by Mazda to Zarathustra, and the religion of Jehovah, revealed by Jehovah to Moses). The ultimate end of both books is to teach the faithful the rule of life.

§ 2. Here is a series of particular concordances that show more clearly the unity of their plan:

(1) Creation of the world.—Jehovah creates the world in six days; he creates successively the light, the heaven, the sea, the earth and the plants, the lights in the firmament, the animals, and lastly man.

Ahura Mazda creates the world in six periods; he creates successively the heaven, the water, the earth, the plants, the animals, and man.

(2) Creation of man.—All the human race, in Genesis, is descended from one couple, man and woman, Adam and Eve (Adam means 'man').

All the human race, in the Avesta, is descended from one couple, man and woman, Mashya and Mashyana (Mashya means 'man').

(3) The Deluge.—Jehovah intends to destroy the human race, on account of its wickedness, and to renew it. He brings about the deluge, but saves one just man, Noah, with his family and a couple of each species of animals. Noah, on his advice, builds an ark, in which he takes refuge, with his people, and from which he goes out afterwards to repeople the earth.

In course of time, the earth shall be laid waste by the snows and rains of three long winters, the Mahrkûsha winters. Ahura, in order to repeople his earth with superior races, orders kind Yima to build an underground

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palace, the Var of Yima, where the finest specimens of human, animal, and vegetable species will live till the moment when, the evil days being over, they shall open the doors of the Var and repeople the earth with a better race.

(4) Division of the Earth.—Noah has three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, the ancestors of the three races between which the earth is divided.

Thraêtaona, the avenger and successor of Yima, has three sons, Airya, Sairima, and Tûra, between whom the earth is divided: Airya receives Iran, the centre of the earth's surface, Sairima receives the West, and Tûra the East.

Putting aside the legend of Airya, killed by his brothers, which reminds one, but not closely enough, of Joseph persecuted by his brethren, we arrive at the fact that is the central interest of the two books:

(5) The Revelation. Zarathustra converses with Ahura, as Moses with Jehovah, and receives, like him, the revelation of the laws of every description, on the Mountain of the Holy Conversations, as Moses did on Sinai.

(6) Both Moses and Zarathustra had forerunners.

A first covenant was made by Jehovah with Noah.

The Iranian Noah, Yima, had been first offered to act the part of a lawgiver, which he modestly declined.

Moses was preceded by three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. So Zarathustra was preceded by three great saints, who practised before him the worship of Haoma: Vîvanghaṅt, Athwya, and Thrita.

§ 3. Certainly it would not be safe to affirm that the coincidences between Genesis and the Avesta are due to a direct action of one on the other. The newly-recovered fragments of a Chaldaean Genesis leave room open for a third medium. However, the myths of the creation and the deluge, the only part of the Biblico-Chaldaean mythology which has, in a rather mutilated form, come down to us, differ so widely in the Bible and the Babylonian tablets, that it is only out of scientific scruple that we leave the Chaldaean door open. For the other points of comparison,

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we are obliged, for want of any Chaldaean remains, to let the Bible and the Avesta alone stand face to face.

If the Mazdean Genesis rests on a Chaldaean basis, the date of the loan remains indefinite, as it may virtually have taken place at any date between the time when Iran came into contact with Chaldaea and the time when the Chaldaean mythology died out. If it rests on the Biblical tradition, the loan can hardly have taken place earlier than the time when Judaism began to spread beyond Palestine, that is to say, the first century before Christ and the first after. There were at that time Jewish communities in Media, Parthia, Susiana, and Mesopotamia; the king of Adiabene, Izates, was converted to Judaism about 58 A.D.; and Jewish schools were flourishing in Babylonia and in the Greek towns. So the Magi could meet with doctors of Judaism as well as with teachers of Platonism.

CHAPTER VII.

Achaemenian and Earlier Elements.

§ 1. From the preceding disquisitions we assume that the Avesta doctrine is not one and self-sufficient: but it contains elements borrowed from foreign systems, from India, Greece, and Judaea. It directs its polemic against India and borrows from her, though in a hostile spirit. It owes to Greece some of its teaching, and to Judaea its historical views. And all these foreign elements were borrowed in the Parthian period.

But these elements, however important they may be, do not constitute the whole of Zoroastrianism, for there are essential doctrines in it, the existence of which can be traced back far beyond the Parthian period and the Greek conquest, with historical evidence. One may, with certain accuracy, distinguish in Zoroastrianism what is old, pre-Alexandrian, or Achaemenian from what is late, or post-Alexandrian.

§ 2. The fundamental basis of Mazdeism, the belief in a supreme God, the organiser of the world, Ahura Mazda,

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is as old as anything we know of Persia. Darius proclaims Auramazda, the greatest of all gods, a powerful God, who made this earth, who made that heaven, who made man, who made Darius king.

The gods invoked with the Persian Zeus (Auramazda) are, according to Herodotos, the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, the Wind, the Waters, that is to say, natural Deities. The two greatest gods, next to him, according to Artaxerxes Mnemon, are Mithra and Anahata (Anâhita), that is to say, a God of the Light and a Goddess of the Waters. There is no allusion to, no mention, no indication whatever, of the Amesha Spe*n*tas, nor of that crowd of abstract divinities so characteristic of the later Mazdeism. This is no wonder; as we have seen already that the Amesha Spe*n*tas are a Platonic development.

§ 3. The principle of dualism is pre-Alexandrian. This is implied, in the time of Darius, by the great king stating that Ahura 'created welfare (shiyâtim) for man[1];' in the time of Herodotos, by the religious war waged by the Magi against the ants, snakes, and other noxious creatures, which shows that the distinction of Ormazdian and Ahrimanian creatures was already in existence. Moreover, at the end of the Achaemenian period, Aristotle knows of a Good Spirit and the Evil One, Zeus—Oromazdes and Ades—Areimanios.

§ 4. Already in the Achaemenian Mazdeism, the existence of the world was limited to twelve thousand years, distributed into four periods, the character of which was altered in the post-Alexandrian period, to humour the Neo-Platonic tendencies of the age. It was already an established dogma that Ahriman would be conquered at last and that men would live again. The belief in resurrection and a future life implies the correlative belief in future rewards and punishments, which plays a great part in the post-Alexandrian religion, but must have belonged to the older stratum.

[1] See Rawlinson, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. x, p. 291; Benfey, Die Persischen Keilinschriften, pp. 63, 95.

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§ 5. The practical and utilitarian morality of the Avesta was one of the older traits of the national character. In the eyes of king Darius and the contemporaries of Herodotos, as in those of the writer of Vendîdâd III, and of all good Parsis of the present day, the two greatest merits of a citizen were the begetting and rearing of a numerous family, and the fruitful tilling of the soil. Truthfulness was already considered the paramount virtue, and the balance of merits and demerits was already known at least to the earthly judge.

§ 6. The worship of the elements, water, fire, and earth, and respect for their purity were already in practice. It was forbidden to sully the waters or the fire, to throw a corpse into the fire, or to bury it in the earth until reduced to a fleshless, incorruptible skeleton.

§ 7. There were two sorts of sacrifices: the bloody sacrifice, of which a survival has lingered to this day in the Âtash zôhr, and the bloodless sacrifice, consisting essentially of the Haoma-offering and libations, of which there is no direct mention in the classics, but which indirect evidence obliges us to ascribe to the older religion.

§ 8. Thus the principles of the Achaemenian religion may be summed up as follows:

(1) As far as dogma goes: the existence of two conflicting supreme powers, one good and the other evil, Ormazd and Ahriman; the final defeat of Ahriman after twelve thousand years; and the resurrection. Also a number of naturalistic deities, amongst which were Mithra and Anâhita.

(2) Morals: veneration of truth, family, and agriculture.

(3) Liturgy: a bloody sacrifice and a bloodless sacrifice (Haoma). Certain laws of purity extending to the waters, the fire, and the earth. Burning or burying corpses forbidden.

§ 9. The Achaemenian religion was practised in the south as well as in the north of Iran, in Persia as well as in Media. It had its centre in Media and its sacerdotal class belonged to a Median tribe, the Magi. The priesthood was hereditary—as it still is nowadays amongst the

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Parsis—and the Magi were to Mazdeism what the Levites and Cohanim were to Judaism. The sacerdotal tribe spread wherever Mazdeism extended; and in spite of the intense provincial hatred which the Persians bore to the Medians, their former masters, and which the Pseudo-Smerdis' usurpation was not sufficient to smother, still the Magi were in the Persian idea the only true, authorised priests. No sacrifice was of any value which had not been performed by a Magus: only a Magus could make himself heard by the gods.

§ 10. The supposed founder of the religion was named Zarathustra, a personage that must have been known to the pre-Alexandrian religion, as Dino mentions him, and his protectors, king Vîstâspa (Ὑστάσπης) and Vîstâspa's brother Zairivairi (Ζαριάδρης), were already, in the time of Alexander, heroes of epic songs which were current in Asia. As to the birthplace of Zarathustra, all Zoroastrian texts agree with the old classic tradition in placing it in Media. Whether Zarathustra was an historical or a legendary personage it is difficult to decide, and to some extent useless, as Zoroastrianism no longer appears to be one homogeneous religious monument, since we are confronted with two Zoroastrianisms, one anterior and the other posterior to Alexander. The Pseudo-Xanthos, which is at any rate anterior to the first century B.C., and may be much older, makes Zarathustra the founder of Magism and the first of a series of grand chiefs of Magism who succeeded one another till Alexander's time. Zarathustra would therefore be an old chief of the priestly caste, a Mobedân-Mobed, a Zarathustrôtema κατ' ἐξοχήν, whether historical or legendary. As his legend is known to us only from Avesta sources, we have no means of distinguishing in it what may be older from what may be a later development.

§ 11. Zoroastrianism, whether prior to Alexander or in its post-Alexandrian form, was never a simple religion; it was the result of an historical elaboration of complex materials. It was a growth in which one easily discerns Aryan elements, which it has in common with India, and new original elements. Its Aryan elements may be termed:

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the supreme God, the God of the Heaven, Ahura Mazda; the God of the heavenly light, Mithra; the worship of the elementary divinities, Waters, Fire, and Earth; a number of storm myths and mythical legends; and the worship of Haoma. Purely Iranian are: the dualistic conception of the world, its limited duration of twelve thousand years with its four periods; the continual conflict of Ormazd and Ahriman, and the latter's defeat; the resurrection of the dead, the notion of purity carried to the extreme, the prohibition of burning or burying the dead, and the throwing away of corpses to dogs and birds of prey.

§ 12. Some of the new dogmas may be the independent development of Aryan elements: for instance, the dualistic conception may have grown out of the mythical struggles between gods and demons. But the Great year and the resurrection are things quite new, which seem to betray external influences. Of the Scythian origin of Zoroastrianism it will be idle to speak, till the advocates of the system have brought something like historical or rational evidence in its favour. The only civilisation of which we know in the neighbourhood of Media was that of the Assyro-Chaldaeans, which in many things was the instructor of the Medes and taught them their art, their writing, and their political organisation. Unfortunately, too little is known of the inner aspects of the Chaldaean religion. One may wonder if the Frashô-kereti, that renewal of the world that is to take place at the end of the Great year of twelve millennia, was derived from the Semitic myths of the annual revival of Adonis and Tammuz. Even the idea of resurrection seems to be attested on the so-called Cyrus' cylinder of Babylon. If these hypotheses turn out to be correct, older Magism may be defined as an Aryan growth under Chaldaean influences.

CHAPTER VIII.

Age and Growth of the Avesta.

§ 1. The internal evidence of the doctrines has thus confirmed the half-historical evidence of the texts, and

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led us to believe that the Avesta is the embodiment and the fusion of two teachings, one of which belonged to the Achaemenian age, whereas the other could not be older than the fall of the Greek domination in Iran. One might therefore divide the Avesta. so far as the doctrine goes, into pre-Alexandrian and post-Alexandrian texts. The Vendîdâd may be taken as the best specimen of the texts imbued with the pre-Alexandrian spirit, as its general laws are Achaemenian in tone, and a great part of it may be interpreted by means of classical testimonies regarding the Achaemenian age. The Gâthas may be taken as the best specimen of the post-Alexandrian spirit, as they are filled with ideas of post-Alexandrian growth.

§ 2. The date of the Gâthas, if not exactly determinable, may yet be fixed between rather narrow limits. They can hardly be older than the first century before our era, or even before Philo of Alexandria; for the neo-Platonic ideas and beings are found in them just in the Philonian stage. They cannot be dated later than the time of the Scythian kings, Kanishka and Huvishka, who reigned in India between 78 and 130 A.D., and who left on their coins records of many of the Zoroastrian divinities, not only the old elementary ones, like Μειρο—Mithra, Τειρο—Tighri, Οαδο—Vâta, Μαο—Maungha; but also the new abstract deities, like Οανινδα—Vanainti, Ορλαγνο—Verethraghna, and the Amshaspand Σαορηοαρ—Khshathra Vairya. If it is assumed that the idea Vohu Manô was inspired by Philo or his school, the Gâthas will be thereby ascribed to the first century of our era. It is just the period when we find Vologeses and the first historical mention of an attempt to form a systematic religious code.

The Gâthas present therefore this apparent contradiction, that, being the oldest part of the Avesta, they represent, at the same time, the latest growth of the Zoroastrian spirit. This is contradictory only to those who in a text confound the date of its composition with the date of the ideas it expresses. The Vendîdâd may be at the same time later than the Gâthas in its composition and older in its material. The writer of the Vendîdâd had the Gâthas before his eyes,

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though he expressed ideas and facts far anterior to the time when the Gâthas could have been written or thought of.

But if the Gâthas were written in the first century of our era, it follows that they must have been written in a dead language. Names like Vaninda, Oado, Saorêvar, on the Indo-Scythian coins, show that at the end of that century the Zend was no longer a living language, but had already been brought to the level of the popular Pahlavi stage. Though the possibility remains that what we call the Philonian concept may be older than Philo, its best-known exponent; and that the Gâthas may therefore be brought back as far as the first or second century before Christ, an epoch when we find already the neo-Platonic spirit in the later productions of Jewish ethics, like the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. In this hypothesis, the Zend might have been still a living, or rather a dying, language, judging from its state of decomposition. As to the country to which it belonged, only one thing can be safely affirmed: it was not Persia. It may have been Media, which remained to the last the centre of Zoroastrianism and the Zoroastrian priesthood; it may have been the eastern part of Iran, where a modern dialect, the Afghan, appears to be a lineal descendant of the Zend.

One question remains to be settled. Allowing that a part of the Avesta is post-Alexandrian, is there a part of it which belongs to the pre-Alexandrian age, namely, that part which, so far as its contents go, belongs to the old religious stratum?

Certainly it would be most hazardous to deny the existence of a sacred literature under the Achaemenian kings, though no historical evidence can be brought forward to support its assumption. Nay more, if the Gâthas are supposed to have been written in a dead language, we are obliged to assume the existence of an old literature and the survival of fragments of it; for it is impossible to write in a dead language unless one has under one's eyes models composed at a time when the language was living. But if there has ever been such a thing as an Achaemenian Avesta, and even if fragments of it were in the hands of the

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post-Alexandrian Diaskeuasts, one thing is certain; there is not one page of that older Avesta that is literally reproduced in the newer Avesta. Those theogonies which the Magi in the time of Herodotos sang at the sacrifice have nothing to do with our Gâthas, since our Gâthas contain elements which did not enter the Iranian mind till Iran was overwhelmed by the Greek conquest. Neither were they like our Yasts, because the composition of our Yasts was directed by an historical and chronological principle, of biblical origin. Only the laws of the Vendîdâd, which, most of them, are as old as the older Zoroastrianism, may be supposed to be a partial reproduction of an Achaemenian Avesta; but even they are presented in a form that implies the new evolution. A Magus of the old days was as energetic as an Avesta Âthravan in protecting the purity of the earth against any defilement; but he would not have spoken of the earth as Spenta Ârmaiti.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSIONS.

§ 1. Zoroastrianism is an historical religion, that is to say, one that has changed in course of time, not only by an inner evolution, but also under the reaction of foreign schools and political events.

§ 2. In the remotest period, the Median priests, the Magi, elaborated on a naturalistic basis, not different from what is found in Indian, Greek, and Italian paganisms, an original system, not free from Semitic elements. Its characteristics are: dualism, the limited duration of the world, the resurrection, the worship of pure elements, and the ethics of labour. That system spread from Media to Persia, and was dominant under the Achaemenians. It is Zoroastrianism proper; no direct documents of it are left; but it is known indirectly through the inscriptions, through the testimony of the classics, and through the documents of the neo-Zoroastrianism, which received its dogmas and gave them a new form.

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§ 3. Alexander's invasion brought in its wake political and moral anarchy. Zoroastrianism did not perish; its dogmas, its worship, and part of its mythology survived; but for want of a sacred authoritative book, there was no Zoroastrian orthodoxy. At the same time, the barriers between East and West being broken, all religions and systems were brought face to face. The religious question became the order of the day. Buddhism and Brâhmanism pushed from the East, Judaism from the West, Hellenism ruled all over Iran. In the systems that from all the four points of the compass spread into Iran, either with a conscious propagandist spirit, or through the slow, blind influences of every-day contacts, Zoroastrianism found both what repelled and what attracted it. Its practical and moral ideal revolted against the inert asceticism of Buddhism, the ethical indifference of Brâhmanism, and the superstitious, low worship of immoral Devas.

§ 4. Greece and Palestine, on the contrary, brought to it novel, fascinating, and edifying thoughts. How far and deep Hellenism made its influence felt is symbolically expressed on the coins of the Philhellen Arsacidae. Not that I think that Zeus impressed in any active way the worshippers of Ahura, though Herodotos and Aristotle had recognised their affinities, as the Sassanians did later on. It was Greek philosophy that reacted on the Zoroastrian schools. Platonism was there, as it was in Western Asia, 'the bond between the East and Greece.' What struck the Mazdean sages most in it was what at the same time impressed the Hellenist Jews so much: the idea of the Logos, that divine intelligence abstracted from God and interposed between him and the world; also the concept of an ideal world, the heavenly unseen prototype of the material one. After the Iranian Logos, Vohu Manô, rose the Amshaspands, to share with him the government of the soul and the world. Then came a host of divine abstractions, to impersonate all the spiritual and material forces of nature. In spite of the dryness and scholastic rigour with which the doctors invested Mazdeism, one cannot help admiring the practical good sense and idea of proportion

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which presided over the choice of these divine abstractions and represented their impulses; and when one contrasts them with the Eons of the Gnostics and the Sephiroth of the Cabbalists, which starting from the same point, the First Intelligence, fell engulfed in mystical nihilism, one can understand why and how Mazdeism was, next to Christianity, the only one among the religious systems inspired with Plato's spirit that lived and deserved to live.

§ 5. Judaism inspired Zoroastrianism in a different, though not less powerful, way. It answered certain questions of which Mazdeism had not thought. Its sacred book supplied the Mazdean doctors with its solutions of those questions. It gave them even its historical and chronological framework. The creation, the deluge, the genealogies, the patriarchs, the division of races, the Revelation were all told in a Zoroastrian spirit. Perhaps the very idea of an Avesta was suggested by the Bible. The very divisions of the Bible were adopted in the Avesta: the classification of the Nasks into Dâta (the Law), Gâtha (metaphysics) and Hadha-mâthra, is the classification of the Biblical texts into Thora (Law), Nebiim (Prophets), and Ketûbîm. When Islam assimilated the Zoroastrians to the People of the Book, it evinced a rare historical sense and solved the problem of the origin of the Avesta.

§ 6. Thus, in the centuries about the Christian era, was elaborated in Iran a new religion, not differing essentially from the old one, which, in fact was nothing more than this old religion, adapted to the new necessities of its spiritual and political surroundings, better armed against rivals and made stronger by borrowing from every one of its competitors. All these novelties Zoroastrianism could adopt and assimilate to itself without losing its own physiognomy, and there are few instances of foreign elements and concepts so freely borrowed by a religion and so harmoniously blended in the original mould.

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CHAPTER X.

THE VENDÎDÂD.

§ 1. According to Parsi tradition the Vendîdâd [1] is the only Nask, out of the twenty-one, that was preserved in its entirety[2]. This is a statement to which it is difficult to trust; for, if there is anything that shows how right the Parsis are in admitting that the Avesta is only a collection of fragments, it is the fragmentary character of the Vendîdâd that strikes us most.

The Vendîdâd has often been described as the book of the laws of the Parsis; it may be more exactly called the code of purification, a description, however, which is itself only so far correct that the laws of purification are the object of the largest part of the book.

The first two chapters deal with mythical matter, without any direct connection with the general object of the Vendîdâd, and are remnants of an old epic and cosmogonic literature. The first deals with the creations and counter-creations of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu; the second speaks of Yima, the founder of civilisation. Although there was no particular reason for placing them in the Vendîdâd, as soon as they were admitted into it they were naturally put at the beginning, because they referred to the first ages of the world. Three chapters of a mythical character, about the origin of medicine, were put at the end of the book, for want of any better place, but might as well have been kept apart[3], as was the so-called Hadhôkht Nask fragment. There is also another mythical Fargard, the nineteenth, which, as it treats of the revelation of the law by Ahura to Zarathustra, would have been more suitably placed at the beginning of the Vendîdâd proper, that is, as the third Fargard.

[1] The word Vendîdâd is a corruption of Vîdaêvô-dâtem (dâtem), the 'anti-demoniac law.' It is sometimes applied to the whole of the law (Vendîdâd Sâda).

[2] See above, p. xxxii.

[3] As an introduction to a code of laws on physicians; see Farg. VII, 36–44.

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The other sixteen chapters deal chiefly with religious observances, although mythical fragments, or moral digressions, are met with here and there, which are more or less artificially connected with the text, and which were most probably not written in connection with the passages which they follow [1].

§ 2. A rough attempt at regular order appears in these sixteen chapters: nearly all the matter contained in the eight chapters from V to XII deals with impurity arising from the dead and the way of dispelling it; but the subject is again treated, here and there, in other Fargards [2], and matter irrelevant to the subject has also found its way into these same eight Fargards [3]. Fargards XIII and XIV are devoted to the dog, but must be completed with a part of the XVth. Fargards XVI, XVII, and most part of XVIII deal with several sorts of uncleanness, and their proper place should rather have been after the XIIth Fargard. Fargard III is devoted to the earth [4]; Fargard IV stands by itself, as it deals with a matter which is treated only there, namely, civil and penal laws [5].

No better order prevails within these several parts: prescriptions on one and the same subject are scattered about through several Fargards, without any subject being treated at once in a full and exhaustive way; and this occasions needless repetitions [6].

The main cause of this disorder was, of course, that the advantage of order is rarely felt by Orientals; but it was further promoted by the very form of exposition adopted by the first composers of the Vendîdâd. The law is revealed by Ahura in a series of answers to questions put to him by

[1] For instance, Farg. V, 15-20; III, 24-29; 30-32; 33; IV, 47-49.

[2] III, 14-21; 36 seq.; XIX, 11-25.

[3] The passages on medicine (VII, 36-44), and on the sea Vouru-kasha (V, 15-20).

[4] It contains two digressions, the one on funeral laws, the other on husbandry. See Farg. III, Introd.

[5] It contains one digression on physical well-being, which must have belonged originally to Farg. III. See Farg. IV, Introd.

[6] V, 27-30 = VII, 6-9; V, 45-54 = VII, 60-69; V, 57-62 = VII, 17-22.

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Zarathustra[1]; and as these questions are not of a general character, but refer to details, the matter is much broken up into fragments, each of which, consisting of a question with its answer, stands by itself, as an independent passage.

We shall treat in the following pages, first of the laws of purification, then of the civil laws, and, lastly, of the penalties both religious and civil.

A.

§ 3. The first object of man is purity, yaoždau: 'purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good[2].'

Purity and impurity have not in the Vendîdâd the exclusively spiritual meaning which they have in our languages: they do not refer to an inward state of the soul, but chiefly to a physical state of the body. Impurity or uncleanness may be described as the state of a person or a thing that is possessed of the demon; and the object of purification is to expel the demon.

The principal means by which uncleanness enters man is death, as death is the triumph of the demon.

When a man dies, as soon as the soul has parted from the body, the Druǵ Nasu or Corpse-Druǵ falls upon the dead from the regions of hell, and whoever thenceforth touches the corpse becomes unclean, and makes unclean whomsoever he touches[3].

The Druǵ is expelled from the dead by means of the Sag-dîd, 'the look of the dog:' 'a four-eyed dog' or 'a white one with yellow ears' is brought near the body and is made to look at the dead; as soon as he has done so, the Druǵ flees back to hell[4].

[1] The outward form of the Vendîdâd has been often compared with that of the Books of Moses. But in reality, in the Bible, there is no conversation between God and the lawgiver: the law comes down unasked, and God gives commands, but gives no answers. In the Vendîdâd, on the contrary, it is the wish of man, not the will of God, that is the first cause of the revelation. Man must ask of Ahura, who knows everything, and is pleased to answer (XVIII, 13 seq.); the law is 'the question to Ahura,' âhûiri frashnô.

[2] Farg. V, 21, from Yasna XLVIII (XLVII), 5. [3] Farg. VII, 1 seq.

[4] In the shape of a fly. 'The fly that came to the smell of the dead body was thought to be the corpse-spirit that came to take possession of the dead in the name of Ahriman' (Justi, Persien, p. 88).

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The Druǵ is expelled from the living, whom she has seized through their contact with the dead, by a process of washings with ox's urine (gômêz or nîrang) and with water, combined with the Sag-dîd[1].

The real import of these ceremonies is shown by the spells which accompany their performance: 'Perish, O fiendish Druǵ! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Druǵ! Rush away, O Druǵ! Perish away, O Druǵ! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!'

Thus, in the death of a man, there is more involved than the death of one man: the power of death, called forth from hell, threatens from the corpse, as from a stronghold, the whole world of the living, ready to seize whatever may fall within his reach, and 'from the dead defiles the living, and from the living rushes upon the living.' When a man dies in a house, there is danger for three days lest somebody else should die in that house[2].

The notion or feeling, out of which these ceremonies grew, was far from unknown to the other Indo-European peoples: what was peculiar to Mazdeism was that it carried it to an extreme, and preserved a clearer sense of it, while elsewhere it grew dimmer and dimmer, and faded away. In fact, when the Greek, going out of a house where a dead man lay, sprinkled himself with water from the ἀρδάνιον at the door, it was death that he drove away from himself. The Vedic Indian, too, although his rites were intended chiefly for the benefit of the dead, considered himself in danger and, while burning the corpse, cried aloud: 'Away, go away, O Death! injure not our sons and our men!' (Rig-veda X, 18, 1.)

§ 4. As to the rites by means of which the Druǵ is expelled, they are the performance of myths. There is nothing in worship but what existed before in mythology. What we call a practice is only an imitation of gods, an ὁμοίωσις θεῷ, as man fancies he can bring about the things

[1] Farg. VIII, 35-72; IX, 12-36.

[2] Saddar 78.

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he wants, by performing the acts which are supposed to have brought about things of the same kind when practised by the gods.

The Parsis, being at a loss to find four-eyed dogs, interpret the name as meaning a dog with two spots above the eyes[1]: but it is clear that the two-spotted dog's services are only accepted for want of a four-eyed one, or of a white one with yellow ears, which amounts to saying that there were myths, according to which the death-fiend was driven away by dogs of that description. This reminds one at once of the three-headed Kerberos, watching at the doors of hell, and, still more, of the two brown, four-eyed dogs of Yama, who guard the ways to the realm of death[2].

The identity of the four-eyed dog of the Parsi with Kerberos and Yama's dogs appears, moreover, from the Parsi tradition that the yellow-eared dog watches at the head of the *K*inva*t* bridge, which leads from this to the next world, and with his barking drives away the fiend from the souls of the holy ones, lest he should drag them to hell[3].

Wherever the corpse passes by, death walks with it; all along the way it has gone, from the house to its last resting-place, a spirit of death is breathing and threatening the living. Therefore, no man, no flock, no being whatever that belongs to the world of Ahura, is allowed to pass by

[1] In practice they are still less particular: 'The Sag-dîd may be performed by a shepherd's dog, by a house-dog, by a Vohunazga dog (see Farg. XIII, 19, n.), or by a young dog (a dog four months old),' Comm. ad Farg. VII, 2. As birds of prey are as fiend-smiting as the dog, they are Nasu-smiters like him, and one may appeal to their services, when there is no dog at hand (see Farg. VII, 3, n. 3).

[2] Rig-veda X, 14, 10 seq.

[3] Gr. Rav. p. 592. Allusions to this myth are found in Farg. XIII, 9, and XIX, 30. The Commentary ad Farg. XIII, 17 has: 'There are dogs who watch over the earthly regions; there are others who watch over the fourteen heavenly regions.' The birth of the yellow-eared dog is described in the Ravâet (l. c.) as follows: 'Ormazd, wishing to keep the body of the first man, Gayômart, from the assaults of Ahriman, who tried to kill him, cried out: "O thou yellow-eared dog, arise!" and directly the dog barked and shook his two ears; and the unclean Satan and the fiends, when they saw the dreadful looks of the yellow-eared dog, and heard his barking, were sore afraid and fled down to hell.'

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that way until the deadly breath, that blows through it, has been blown away to hell[1]. The four-eyed dog is made to go through the way three times, or six times, or nine times, while the priest helps the look of the dog with his spells, dreaded by the Drug.

§ 5. The use of gômêz in cleansing the unclean is also derived from old mythic conceptions[2]. The storm floods that cleanse the sky of the dark fiends in it were described in a class of myths as the urine of a gigantic animal in the heavens. As the floods from the bull above drive away the fiend from the god, so do they from man here below, they make him 'free from the death-demon' (frânasu), and the death-fiend flees away hellwards, pursued by the fiend-smiting spell: 'Perish thou, O Drug . . ., never more to give over to Death the living world of the good spirit!'

§ 6. As uncleanness is nothing else than the contagion of death, it is at its greatest intensity when life is just departing. The Nasu at that moment defiles ten persons around the corpse[3]: when a year is over, the corpse defiles no longer[4]. Thus the notion of uncleanness is quite the reverse of what it is elsewhere: the corpse, when rotten, is less unclean than the body still all but warm with life; death defiles least when it looks most hideous, and defiles most when it might look majestic. The cause is that in the latter case the death-demon has just arrived in the fulness of his strength, whereas in the former case time has exhausted his power.

§ 7. As the focus of the contagion is in the corpse, it must be disposed of so that death may not spread abroad. On this point the old Indo-European customs have been completely changed by Mazdeism. The Indo-Europeans either burnt the corpse or buried it: both customs are held to be sacrilegious in the Avesta.

§ 8. This view originated from the notion of the holiness

[1] Farg. VIII, 14–22.

[2] Orm. Ahr. § 124. The use of gômêz has been lately found to be known in Basse-Bretagne (Luzel, Le Nirang des Parsis en Basse-Bretagne, Mélusine, 493).

[3] Farg. V, 27; cf. n. 5.

[4] Farg. VIII, 33–34.

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of the elements being pushed to an extreme. The elements, fire, earth, and water are holy, and during the Indo-Iranian period they were already considered so, and in the Vedas they are worshipped as godlike beings. Yet this did not prevent the Indian from burning his dead; death did not appear to him so decidedly a work of the demon, and the dead man was a traveller to the other world, whom the fire kindly carried to his heavenly abode 'on his undecaying, flying pinions, wherewith he killed the demons.' The fire was in that, as in the sacrifice, the god that goes from earth to heaven, from man to god, the mediator, the god most friendly to man. In Persia it remains more distant from him; being an earthly form of the eternal, infinite, godly light [1], no death, no uncleanness can be allowed to enter it, as it is here below the purest offspring of the good spirit, the purest part of his pure creation. Its only function is to repel the fiends with its bright blazing. In every place where Parsis are settled, an everlasting fire is kept, the Bahrâm fire, which, 'preserved by a more than Vestal care [2],' and ever fed with perfumes and dry well-blazing wood, whichever side its flames are brought by the wind, goes and kills thousands and thousands of fiends, as Bahrâm does in heaven [3]. If the necessities of life oblige us to employ fire for profane uses, it must be only for a time an exile on our hearth, or in the oven of the potter, and it must go thence to the Right-Place of the fire (Dâityô Gâtu), the altar of the Bahrâm fire, there to be restored to the dignity and rights of its nature [4].

At least, let no gratuitous and wanton degradation be inflicted upon it: even blowing it with the breath of the mouth is a crime [5]; burning the dead is the most heinous

[1] Ignem coelitus delapsum (Ammian. Marcel. XXVII, 6); Cedrenus; Elisaeus; Recogn. Clement. IV, 29; Clem. Homil. IX, 6; Henry Lord.

[2] J. Fryer, A New Account of East India and Persia, 1698, p. 265.

[3] Farg. VIII, 81–96; 79–80.

[4] Extinguishing it is a mortal sin (Ravâets; Elisaeus; cf. Strabo XV, 14).

[5] A custom still existing with the Tâzîk, an Iranian tribe in Eastern Persia, (de Khanikoff, Ethnographie de la Perse). Strabo XV, 14. Manu has the same prescription (IV, 53). Cf. Farg. XIV, 8, n. 10.

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of sins: in the times of Strabo it was a capital crime [1], and the Avesta expresses the same, when putting it in the number of those sins for which there is no atonement [2].

Water was looked upon in the same light. Bringing dead matter to it is as bad as bringing it to the fire [3]. The Magi are said to have overthrown a king for having built bath-houses, as they cared more for the cleanness of water than for their own [4].

§ 9. Not less holy was the earth, or, at least, it became so. There was a goddess who lived in her, Spe*n*ta Armaiti; no corpse ought to defile her sacred breast: burying the dead is, like burning the dead, a deed for which there is no atonement [5]. It was not always so in Persia: the burning of the dead had been forbidden for years [6], while the burying was still general. Cambyses had roused the indignation of the Persians by burning the corpse of Amasis: yet, years later, Persians still buried their dead. But the priests already felt scruples, and feared to defile a god. Later on, with the ascendancy of the Magian religion, the sacerdotal observances became the general law [7].

§ 10. Therefore the corpse is laid on the summit of a mountain, far from man, from water, from tree, from fire, and from the earth itself, as it is separated from it by a layer of stones or bricks [8]. Special buildings, the Dakhmas,

[1] Strabo XV, 14; cf. Herod. III, 16.

[2] Farg. I, 17; cf. Farg. VIII, 74.

[3] Farg. VII, 25–27; Strabo XV, 14; Herod. I, 138.

[4] King Balâsh (Josué le Stylite, traduction Martin, § xx). It seems as if there were a confusion between Balâsh and Kavât; at any rate, it shows that bathing smacked of heresy. Jews were forbidden to perform the legal ablutions (Fürst, Culturgeschichte der Juden, 9).

[5] Farg. I, 13.

[6] From the reign of Cyrus.

[7] Still the worship of the earth seems not to have so deeply penetrated the general religion as the worship of fire. The laws about the disposal of the dead were interpreted by many, it would seem, as intended only to secure the purity of water and fire, and they thought that they might be at peace with religion if they had taken care to bury the corpse, so that no part of it might be taken by animals to fire or water (Farg. III, 41, n. 7).

[8] Farg. VI, 44 seq.; VIII, 10 seq. Cf. IX, 11, n. 5. Moreover, the Dakhma is ideally separated from the ground by means of a golden thread, which is supposed to keep it suspended in the air (Ravâet, ap. Spiegel, Uebersetzung des Avesta II, XXXVI).

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were erected for this purpose [1]. There far from the world the dead were left to lie, beholding the sun [2].

§ 11. Not every corpse defiles man, but only those of such beings as belong to the world of Ahura. They are the only ones in whose death the demon triumphs. The corpse of an Ahrimanian creature does not defile; as its life was incarnate death, the spring of death that was in it is dried up with its last breath: it killed while alive, it can do so no more when dead; it becomes clean by dying [3]. None of the faithful are defiled by the corpse of an Ashemaogha or of a Khrafstra. Nay, killing them is a pious work, as it is killing Ahriman himself.

§ 12. Not only real death makes one unclean, but partial death too. Everything that goes out of the body of man is dead, and becomes the property of the demon. The going breath is unclean, it is forbidden to blow the fire with it [4], and even to approach the fire without screening it from the contagion with a Penôm [5]. Parings of nails and cuttings or shavings of hair are unclean, and become weapons in the hands of the demons unless they have been protected by certain rites and spells [6]. Any phenomenon by which the bodily nature is altered, whether accompanied with danger to health or not, was viewed as a work of the demon, and made the person unclean in whom it took place. One of these phenomena, which is a special object of attention

[1] 'The Dakhma is a round building, and is designated by some writers, "The Tower of Silence." A round pit, about six feet deep, is surrounded by an annular stone pavement, about seven feet wide, on which the dead bodies are placed. This place is enclosed all round by a stone wall some twenty feet high, with a small door on one side for taking the body in. The whole is built up of and paved with stone. The pit has communication with three or more closed pits, at some distance, into which the rain washes out the liquids and the remains of the dead bodies' (Dadabhai Naoroji, The Manners and Customs of the Parsees, Bombay, 1864, p. 16). Cf. Farg. VI, 50. A Dakhma is the first building the Parsis erect when settling in a new place (Dosabhoy Framji).

[2] The Avesta and the Commentator attach great importance to that point: it is as if the dead man's life were thus prolonged, since he can still behold the sun. 'Grant us that we may long behold the sun,' said the Indian *Ŕishi*.

[3] Farg. V, 35 seq.

[4] See above, p. lxxvi.

[5] See Farg. XIV, 8, n. 10.

[6] Farg. XVII.

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in the Vendîdâd, is the uncleanness of women during their menses. The menses are sent by Ahriman [1], especially when they last beyond the usual time: therefore a woman, as long as they last, is unclean and possessed of the demon: she must be kept confined, apart from the faithful whom her touch would defile, and from the fire which her very look would injure; she is not allowed to eat as much as she wishes, as the strength she might acquire would accrue to the fiends. Her food is not given to her from hand to hand, but is passed to her from a distance [2], in a long leaden spoon. The origin of all these notions is in certain physical instincts, in physiological psychology, which is the reason why they are found among peoples very far removed from one another by race or religion [3]. But they took in Persia a new meaning as they were made a logical part of the whole religious system.

§ 13. A woman that has just been delivered of a child is also unclean [4], although it would seem that she ought to be considered pure amongst the pure, since life has been increased by her in the world, and she has enlarged the realm of Ormazd. But the strength of old instincts overcame the drift of new principles. Only the case when the woman has been delivered of a still-born child is examined in the Vendîdâd. She is unclean as having been in contact with a dead creature; and she must first drink gômêz to wash over the grave in her womb. So utterly unclean is she, that she is not even allowed to drink water, unless she is in danger of death; and even then, as the sacred element has been defiled, she is liable to the penalty of a Peshôtanu [5]. It appears from modern customs that the treatment is the same when the child is born alive: the reason of which is that, in any case, during the first three days after delivery she is in danger of death [6]. A great fire is lighted

[1] Farg. I, 18–19; XVI, 11. Cf. Bund. III.
[2] Farg. XVI, 15. [3] Cf. Leviticus. See Pliny VII, 13.
[4] Farg. V, 45 seq. [5] Farg. VII, 70 seq.
[6] 'When there is a pregnant woman in a house, one must take care that there be fire continually in it; when the child is brought forth, one must burn

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to keep away the fiends, who use then their utmost efforts to kill her and her child [1]. She is unclean only because the death-fiend is in her.

§ 14. Logic required that the sick man should be treated as an unclean one, that is, as one possessed. Sickness, being sent by Ahriman, ought to be cured like all his other works, by washings and spells. In fact, the medicine of spells was considered the most powerful of all [2], and although it did not oust the medicine of the lancet and that of drugs, yet it was more highly esteemed and less mistrusted. The commentator on the Vendîdâd very sensibly observes that if it does not relieve, it will surely do no harm [3], which seems not to have been a matter of course with those who heal by the knife and physic. It appears from the last Fargard that all or, at least, many diseases might be cured by spells and Barashnûm washing. It appears from Herodotos and Agathias that contagious diseases required the same treatment as uncleanness: the sick man was excluded from the community of the faithful [4], until cured and cleansed according to the rites [5].

§ 15. The unclean are confined in a particular place, apart from all clean persons and objects, the Armêst-gâh [6], which may be described, therefore, as the Dakhma for the living. All the unclean, all those struck with temporary death, the man who has touched dead matter, the woman in her menses, or just delivered of child, the leper [7], or the man who has made himself unclean for ever by carrying a corpse alone [8], stay there all the time of their uncleanness.

§ 16. Thus far for general principles. From the diversity

a candle, or, better still, a fire, for three days and three nights, to render the Dêvs and Drugs unable to harm the child; for there is great danger during those three days and nights after the birth of the child' (Saddar 16).

[1] 'When the child is being born, one brandishes a sword on the four sides, lest fairy Aal kill it' (Polack, Persien I, 223). In Rome, three gods, Intercidona, Pilumnus, and Deverra, keep her threshold, lest Sylvanus come in and harm her (Augustinus, De Civ. D. VI, 9).

[2] Farg. VII, 44.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Herod. I, 138.

[5] Agathias II, 23.

[6] The Armêst-gâh for women in their menses is called Dashtânistân.

[7] Herod. l. l.; Farg. II, 29.

[8] Farg. III, 19.

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of circumstances arises a system of casuistry, the development of which may be followed first through the glosses to the Vendîdâd, in which the labours of several generations of theologians are embodied, and, later on, through the Ravâets. We will give a few instances of it, as found in the Vendîdâd itself.

The process of the cleansing varies according to the degree of uncleanness; and, again, the degree of uncleanness depends on the state of the thing that defiles and the nature of the thing that is defiled.

The uncleanness from the dead is the worst of all, and it is at its utmost when contracted before the Nasu has been expelled from the corpse by the Sag-dîd [1]: it can be cured only by means of the most complicated system of cleansing, the nine nights' Barashnûm [2].

If the Nasu has already been expelled from the corpse, as the defiling power was less, a simple washing once made, the Ghosel, is enough [3].

The defiling power of the Nasu reaches farther, if the death has just taken place, and if the dying creature occupied a higher rank in the scale of beings [4]; for the more recent the victory of the demon, or the higher the being he has overcome, the stronger he must have been himself.

Menstruous women are cleansed by the Ghosel [5].

As for things they are more or less deeply defiled according to their degree of penetrability: metal vessels can be cleansed, earthen vessels cannot [6]; leather is more easily cleansed than woven cloth [7]; hard wood than soft wood [8]. Wet matter is a better conductor of uncleanness than dry matter, and corpses cease to defile after a year [9].

[1] Farg. VIII, 35–36; 98–99; cf. VII, 29–30, and n. 6 to 30.

[2] Farg. IX. The Barashnûm, originally meant to remove the uncleanness from the dead, became a general instrument of holiness. Children when putting on the Kôstî (Farg. XVIII, 9, n. 3) perform it to be cleansed from the natural uncleanness they have contracted in the womb of their mothers. It is good for every one to perform it once a year.

[3] Farg. VIII, 36.

[4] Farg. V, 27 seq.; VII, 1 seq.

[5] Farg. XVI, 12.

[6] Farg. VII, 73 seq.

[7] Farg. VII, 14 seq.

[8] Farg. VII, 28 seq.

[9] Farg. VIII, 33–34.

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B.

§ 17. In the cases heretofore reviewed, religious purposes are alone concerned. There is another order of laws, in which, although religion interferes, yet it is not the root of the matter; namely, the laws about contracts and assaults, to which the fourth Fargard is devoted, and which are the only remains extant of the civil and penal legislation of Zoroastrianism.

The contracts were divided into two classes, according to their mode, and according to the value of their object [1]. As to their mode they are word-contracts or hand-contracts: as to their object, they are sheep-contracts, ox-contracts, man-contracts, or field-contracts, which being estimated in money value are contracts to the amount of 3, 12, 500 istîrs, and upwards [2].

No contract can be made void by the will of one party alone; he who breaks a contract is obliged to pay the value of the contract next higher in value.

The family and the next of kin are, it would seem, answerable for the fulfilment of a contract, a principle of the old Indo-European civil law [3].

§ 18. Assaults are of seven degrees: âgerepta, avaoirista[4], stroke, sore wound, bloody wound, broken bone, and manslaughter. The gravity of the guilt does not depend on the gravity of the deed only, but also on its frequency. Each of these seven crimes amounts, by its being repeated without having been atoned for, to the crime that immediately follows in the scale, so that an âgerepta seven times repeated amounts to manslaughter.

C.

§ 19. Every crime makes the guilty man liable to two penalties, one here below, and another in the next world.

[1] See p. 35, n. 3.

[2] An istîr (στατήρ) is as much as four dirhems (δραχμή). The dirhem is estimated by modern tradition as a little more than a rupee, but the authority is doubtful (see Sacred Books of the East, vol. xviii, p. 180, n. 2).

[3] Farg. IV, 5 seq. [4] Two different sorts of menaces; see IV, 17.

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The penalty here below consists of a certain number of stripes with the Aspahê-astra or the Sraoshô-karana[1].

The unit for heavy penalties is two hundred stripes; the crime and the criminal thus punished are called Peshô-tanu or Tanu-peretha (Parsi: Tanâfûhr). The two words literally mean, 'one who pays with his own body,' and 'payment with one's body,' and seem to have originally amounted to 'worthy of death, worthiness of death;' and in effect the word Peshô-tanu is often interpreted in the Pahlavi Commentary by margarzân, 'worthy of death.' But, on the whole, it was attached to the technical meaning of 'one who has to receive two hundred strokes with the horse-whip[2].' The lowest penalty in the Vendîdâd is five stripes, and the degrees from five stripes to Peshôtanu are ten, fifteen, thirty, fifty, seventy, ninety, two hundred. For instance, âgerepta is punished with five stripes, avaoirista with ten, stroke with fifteen, sore wound with thirty, bloody wound with fifty, broken bone with seventy, manslaughter with ninety; a second manslaughter, committed without the former being atoned for, is punished with the Peshôtanu penalty. In the same way the six other crimes, repeated eight, or seven, or six, or five, or four, or three times make the committer go through the whole series of penalties up to the Peshôtanu penalty.

[1] The general formula is literally, 'Let (the priest; probably, the Sraoshâ-varez) strike so many strokes with the Aspahê-astra, so many strokes with the Sraoshô-karana.' Astra means in Sanskrit 'a goad,' so that Aspahê-astra may mean 'a horse-goad;' but Aspendiârji translates it by durra, 'a thong,' which suits the sense better, and agrees with etymology too ('an instrument to drive a horse, a whip;' astra, from the root az, 'to drive;' it is the Aspahê-astra which is referred to by Sozomenos II, 13: ἱμᾶσιν ὠμοῖς χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἐβασάνισαν οἱ μάγοι (the Sraoshâ-varez), βιαζόμενοι προσκυνῆσαι τὸν ἥλιον). Sraoshô-karana is translated by kâbuk, 'a whip,' which agrees with the Sanskrit translation of the sî-srôshô karanâm sin, 'yat tribhir gokarmasû/aghâtâis prâyas-kityam bhavati tâvanmâtram, a sin to be punished with three strokes with a whip.' It seems to follow that Aspahê-astra and Sraoshô-karana are one and the same instrument, designated with two names, first in reference to its shape, and then to its use (Sraoshô-karana meaning 'the instrument for penalty,' or 'the instrument of the Sraoshâ-varez?'). The Aspahê-astra is once called astra mairya, 'the astra for the account to be given,' that is, 'for the payment of the penalty' (Farg. XVIII, 4).

[2] Farg. IV, 20, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42; V, 44; VI, 5, 9, 19, 48, &c.

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§ 20. If one reviews the different crimes described in the Vendîdâd, and the respective penalties prescribed for them, one cannot but wonder at first sight at the strange inequality between crime and penalty. Beccaria would have felt uncomfortable while reading the Vendîdâd. It is safer to kill a man than to serve bad food to a shepherd's dog, for the manslayer gets off with ninety stripes, whereas the bad master is at once a Peshôtanu [1], and will receive two hundred stripes. Two hundred stripes are awarded if one tills land in which a corpse has been buried within the year [2], if a woman just delivered of a child drinks water [3], if one suppresses the menses of a woman [4], if one performs a sacrifice in a house where a man has just died [5], if one neglects fastening the corpse of a dead man so that birds or dogs may not take dead matter to trees and rivers [6]. Two hundred stripes if one throws on the ground a bone of a man's corpse, or of a dog's carcase, as big as two ribs; four hundred if one throws a bone as big as an arm bone, six hundred if one throws a skull, one thousand if the whole corpse [7]. Four hundred stripes if one, being in a state of uncleanness, touches water or trees [8], four hundred if one covers with a cloth a dead man's feet, six hundred if one covers his legs, one thousand if the whole body [9] be so covered. Five hundred stripes for killing a whelp, six hundred for killing a stray dog, seven hundred for a house-dog, eight hundred for a shepherd's dog, one thousand stripes for killing a Vanghâpara dog [10], ten thousand stripes for killing a water-dog [11].

Capital punishment is expressly pronounced only against the false cleanser [12] and the 'carrier alone [13].'

Yet any one who bethinks himself of the spirit of the old Aryan legislation will easily conceive that there may be in

[1] Farg. IV, 40, and XIII, 24.
[2] Farg. VI, 5.
[3] Farg. VII, 70 seq.
[4] Farg. XVI, 13 seq.
[5] Farg. V, 39–44.
[6] Farg. VI, 47 seq.
[7] Farg. VI, 18 seq.
[8] Farg. VIII, 104 seq.
[9] Farg. VIII, 23 seq.
[10] Farg. XIII, 8 seq. and 4.
[11] Farg. XIV, 1 seq.
[12] Farg. IX, 47 seq.
[13] Farg. III, 14 seq. Yet there were other capital crimes. See below, § 23.

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its eyes many crimes more heinous, and to be punished more severely, than manslaughter: offences against man injure only one man; offences against gods endanger all mankind. No one should wonder at the unqualified cleanser being put to death who reads Demosthenes' Neaera; the Persians who defiled the ground by burying a corpse were not more severely punished than the Greeks were for defiling with corpses the holy ground of Delos [1], or than the conquerors at Arginousae; nor would the Athenians, who put to death Atarbes [2], have much stared at the awful revenge taken for the murder of the sacred dog. There is hardly any prescription in the Vendîdâd, however odd and absurd it may seem, but has its counterpart or its explanation in other Aryan legislations: if we had a Latin or a Greek Vendîdâd, I doubt whether it would look more rational.

§ 21. Yet, if theoretically the very absurdity of its principles is nothing peculiar to the Mazdean law, nay, is a proof of its authenticity, it may be doubted whether it could ever have been actually applied in the form stated in the texts. It may be doubted whether the murder of a shepherd's dog could have actually been punished with eight hundred stripes, much more whether the murder of a water-dog could have been really punished with ten thousand stripes, unless we suppose that human endurance was different in ancient Persia from what it is elsewhere, or even in modern Persia herself [3]. Now as we see that in modern tradition bodily punishment is estimated in money value, that is to say, converted into fines, a conversion which is alluded to in the Pahlavi translation [4], it may readily be admitted that as early as the time of the last edition of the Vendîdâd, that conversion had already been made. In the Ravâets, two hundred stripes, or a Tanâfûhr, are estimated as equal to three hundred istîrs or twelve hundred dirhems, or thirteen hundred and fifty rupees;

[1] Diodor. XII, 58. [2] Aelianus, Hist. Var. V, 17.

[3] In the time of Chardin, the number of stripes inflicted on the guilty never exceeded three hundred; in the old German law, two hundred; in the Hebrew law, forty. [4] Ad Farg. XIV, 2.

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a stripe is therefore about equal to six rupees[1]. How far that system prevailed in practice, whether the guilty might take advantage of this commutation of his own accord, or only with the assent of the judge, we cannot decide. It is very likely that the riches of the fire-temples came for the most part from that source, and that the sound of the dirhems often made the Sraoshô-*k*arana fall from the hands of the Mobeds. That the system of financial penalties did not, however, suppress the system of bodily penalties, appears from the customs of the Parsis who apply both, and from the Pahlavi Commentary which expressly distinguishes three sorts of atonement: the atonement by money (khvâstak), the atonement by the Sraoshô-*k*arana, and the atonement by cleansing.

§ 22. This third element of atonement is strictly religious. It consists in repentance, which is manifested by avowal of the guilt and by the recital of a formula of repentance, the Patet. The performance of the Patet has only a religious effect: it saves the sinner from penalties in the other world, but not from those here below; it delivers him before God, but not before man. When the sacrilegious cleanser has repented his sin, he is not the less flayed and beheaded, but his soul is saved[2]. Yet, although it has no efficacy in causing the sin to be remitted, the absence of it has power to cause it to be aggravated[3].

§ 23. Thus far for sins that can be atoned for. There are some that are anâperetha, 'inexpiable,' which means, as it seems, that they are punished with death here below, and with torments in the other world.

Amongst the anâperetha sins are named the burning of the dead, the burying of the dead[4], the eating dead matter[5], unnatural sin[6], and self-pollution[7]. Although

[1] In later Parsîism every sin (and every good deed) has its value in money fixed, and may thus be weighed in the scales of Rashnu. If the number of the good-deed dirhems outweigh the number of sin dirhems, the soul is saved. Herodotos noticed the same principle of compensation in the Persian law of his time (I, 137; cf. VII, 194).

[2] Farg. IX, 49, n.; cf. III, 20 seq.

[3] Farg. IV, 20, 24, 28, 32, 35, &c.

[4] Farg. I, 13, 17; Strabo XV, 14.

[5] Farg. VII, 23 seq.

[6] Farg. I, 12; cf. VIII, 32.

[7] Farg. VIII, 27.

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it is not expressly declared that these sins were punished with death, yet we know it of several of them, either from Greek accounts or from Parsi tradition. There are also whole classes of sinners whose life, it would seem, can be taken by any one who detects them in the act, such as the courtezan, the highwayman, the Sodomite, and the corpse-burner [1].

§ 24. Such are the most important principles of the Mazdean law that can be gathered from the Vendîdâd. These details, incomplete as they are, may give us an idea, if not of the Sassanian practice, at least of the Sassanian ideal. That it was an ideal which intended to pass into practice, we know from the religious wars against Armenia, and from the fact that very often the superintendence of justice and the highest offices of the state were committed to Mobeds.

We must now add a few words on the plan of the following translation. As to our method we beg to refer to the second chapter above. It rests on the Parsi tradition, corrected or confirmed by the comparative method. The Parsi tradition is found in the Pahlavi Commentary [2], the understanding of which was facilitated to us first by the Gujarati translation and paraphrase of Aspendiârji [3], and by a Persian transliteration and translation belonging to the Haug Collection in Munich [4], for the use of which we were indebted to the obliging kindness of the Director of the State Library in Munich, Professor von Halm. The

[1] See p. 113, n. 4; Farg. XVIII, 65.

[2] Our quotations refer to the text given in Spiegel's edition, but corrected after the London manuscript.

[3] Bombay, 1842, 2 vols. in 8vo.

[4] Unfortunately the copy is incomplete: there are two lacunae, one from I, 11 to the end of the chapter; the other, more extensive, from VI, 26 to IX. The perfect accordance of this Persian translation with the Gujarati of Aspendiârji shows that both are derived from one and the same source. Their accordance is striking even in mistakes; for instance, the Pahlavi avâstar, a transliteration of the Zend a-vâstra, 'without pastures' (VII, 26), is misread by the Persian translator *hv*âstâr, خواستار 'he who wishes,' owing to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi letter (av or *hv*), and it is translated by Aspendiârji *k*âhânâr, 'the wisher.'

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Ravâets and the Saddar[1] frequently gave us valuable information as to the traditional meaning of doubtful passages. As for the works of European scholars, we are much indebted to the Commentary on the Avesta by Professor Spiegel, and to the translations in the second edition of Martin Haug's Essays.

We have followed the text of the Avesta as given by Westergaard; the division into paragraphs is according to Westergaard; but we have given in brackets the corresponding divisions of Professor Spiegel's edition. The singularly exact analysis of the Vendîdâd contained in the Dînkart has proved of great value. For the first chapter we owe much to the Commentary in an unpublished chapter of the Great Bundahis. The analyses of the Nasks in the Dînkart, the Great Bundahis and the essay of Jiwanji Modi on the funeral customs of the Parsis have thrown valuable light on many points of detail.

Many passages in the Vendîdâd Sâda are mere quotations from the Pahlavi Commentary which have crept into the Sâda text: we have not admitted them into the text. They are generally known to be spurious from their not being translated in the Commentary[2]: yet the absence of a Pahlavi translation is not always an unmistakable sign of such spuriousness. Sometimes the translation has been lost in our manuscripts, or omitted as having already been given in identical or nearly identical terms. When we thought that this was the case, we have admitted the untranslated passages into the text, but in brackets[3].

We have divided the principal Fargards into several sections according to the matter they contain: this division, which is meant as an attempt to resolve the Vendîdâd into its primitive fragments, has, of course, no traditional

[1] The prose Saddar (as found in the Great Ravâet), which differs considerably from the Saddar in verse, as translated by Hyde.

[2] Without speaking of their not being connected with the context. See Farg. I, 4, 15, 20; II, 6, 20; V, 4; VII, 53–54.

[3] Farg. VII, 3; VIII, 95. Formulae and enumerations are often left untranslated, although they must be considered part of the text (VIII, 72; XI, 9, 12; XX, 6, &c.)

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authority, the divisions into paragraphs being the only ones that rest upon the authority of the manuscripts.

The translation will be found, in many passages, to differ greatly from the translations published heretofore [1]. The nature of this series of translations did not allow us to give full justificatory notes: but we have endeavoured in most cases to make the explanatory notes commend to scholars the new meanings we have adopted; and, in some instances, we hope that the original text, read anew, will by itself justify our translation.

We must not conclude this introduction without tendering our warmest thanks to Mr. E. W. West, who kindly revised the MS. of the translation before it went to press, and who has, we hope, succeeded in making our often imperfect English more acceptable to English readers.

JAMES DARMESTETER.

PARIS:
October, 1894.

[1] Complete translations of the Vendîdâd have been published by Anquetil Duperron in France (Paris, 1771); by Professor Spiegel in Germany (Leipzig, 1852); by Canon de Harlez in Belgium (Louvain, 1877). The translation of Professor Spiegel was translated into English by Professor Bleeck, who added useful information from inedited Gujarati translations (Hertford, 1864).

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A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Asp. = Aspendiârji's translation.

Bund. = Bundahiś; Arabic numbers refer to the chapter (according to Justi's edition); Roman numbers refer to the page and line.

Comm. = The Pahlavi Commentary.

Gr. Rav. = Le Grand Ravâet (in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Supplément Persan, No. 47).

Orm. Ahr. = Ormazd et Ahriman, Paris, Vieweg, 1877.

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VENDÎDÂD.

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VENDÎDÂD.

FARGARD I.

THIS chapter is an enumeration of sixteen perfect lands created by Ahura Mazda, and of as many plagues created in opposition by Angra Mainyu.

Many attempts have been made, not only to identify these sixteen lands, but also to draw historical conclusions from their order of succession, as representing the actual order of the migrations and settlements of the old Iranian tribes[1]. But there is nothing in the text to support such wide inferences. We have here nothing more than a geographical description of Iran, seen from the religious point of view.

Of these sixteen lands there are nine, as follows:—

ZEND NAME.	OLD PERSIAN.	GREEK.	MODERN NAME.
Sughdha (2)	Suguda	Σογδιανή	Soghd سغد (Samarkand)
Môuru (3)	Margu	Μαργιανή	Marv مرو
Bâkhdhi (4)	Bâkhtri	Βάκτρα	Balkh بلخ
Harôyu (6)	Haraiva	Ἀρεία	Harê(rud) هری
Vehrkâna (9)	Varkâna	Ὑρκανία	Gurgân, *Gorgân* جرجان گرگان
Harahvaiti (10)	Harauvati	Ἀραχωσία	Ar-rokhag ارّخج
			Arghand-(âb) ارغندآب
Haêtumant (11)		Ἑτύμανδρος	Helmend هلمند
Ragha (12)	Ragâ[2]	Ῥάγαι	Raï ری
Hapta hindu (15)	Hindava	Ἰνδοί	Hind هند (Pañgâb),

which can be identified with certainty, as we are able to follow their

[1] Rhode, Die heilige Sage des Zendvolks, p. 61; Heeren, Ideen zur Geschichte, I, p. 498; Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde I, p. 526; Haug in Bunsen's work, Aegypten's Stellung, V, 2nd part, p. 104; Kiepert, Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie, 1856, p. 621. Cf. the mythological interpretation by M. Bréal, 'De la géographie de l'Avesta' (in the Mélanges de mythologie et de linguistique, p. 187 seq.)

[2] See however § 16, note 3.

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names from the records of the Achaemenian kings or the works of classical writers down to the map of modern Iran.

For the other lands we are confined for information to the Pahlavi Commentary, from which we get:

ZEND NAME.	PAHLAVI NAME.	MODERN NAME.
Vaêkereta (7)	Kâpûl	كابل Kâbul
Urva (8)	Mêshan	Mesene
Varena (14)	Patashkhvârgar or Dailam	Tabaristân or Gîlân
Rangha (16)	Arvastâni Rûm	Eastern Mesopotamia

The identification of Nisâya (5) and Ḱakhra (13) remains an open question, as there were several cities of that name. We know, however, that Nisâya lay between Balkh and Marv. The first province Airyanem Vaêgô, or Irân-Vêg, we identify with the mediaeval Arrân (nowadays known as Karabagh).

There must have been some systematical idea in the order followed, though it is not apparent, except in the succession of Sughdha, Môuru, Bâkhdhi, Nisâya, Harôyu, Vaêkereta (numbers 2–7), which form one compact group of north-eastern provinces; the last two provinces, Hiṇdu and Rangha (numbers 15–16), are the two limitroph provinces, east and west (Indus and Tigris); and the Rangha brings us back to the first province, Irân-Vêg, whose chief river, the Vanguhi Dâitya, or Aras, springs from the same mountains as the Rangha-Tigris.

The several plagues created by Angra Mainyu to mar the native perfection of Ahura's creations give instructive information on the religious condition of several of the Iranian countries at the time when this Fargard was written. Harât seems to have been the seat of puritan sects that pushed rigorism to the extreme in the law of purification. Sorcery was prevalent in the basin of the Helmend river, and the Paris were powerful in Cabul, which is a Zoroastrian way of saying that the Hindu civilisation prevailed in those parts, which in fact in the two centuries before and after Christ were known as White India, and remained more Indian than Iranian till the Musulman conquest.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama[1] Zarathustra, saying:

[1] Or Spitamide. Zarathustra was descended from Spitama at the fifth generation.

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I have made every land dear (to its people), even though it had no charms whatever in it[1]: had I not made every land dear (to its people), even though it had no charms whatever in it, then the whole living world would have invaded the Airyana Vaêgô[2].

3 (5). The first of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Airyana Vaêgô[3], by the Vanguhi Dâitya[4].

[1] 'Every one fancies that the land where he was born and has been brought up is the best and fairest land that I have created' (Comm.)

[2] Greater Bundahish: 'It is said in the Sacred Book: had I not created the Genius of the native place, all mankind would have gone to Erân-Vêg, on account of its pleasantness.'—On Airyanem Vaêgô or Erân-Vêg, see following note.—Clause 2 in the Vendîdâd Sâda is composed of Zend quotations in the Commentary that illustrate the alternative process of the creation: 'First, Ahura Mazda would create a land of such kind that its dwellers might like it, and there could be nothing more delightful. Then he who is all death would bring against it a counter-creation.'

[3] Airyanem Vaêgô, Irân-Vêg, is the holy land of Zoroastrianism: Zoroaster was born and founded his religion there (Bund. XX, 32; XXXII, 3): the first animal couple appeared there (Bund. XIV, 4; Zâd Sparam, IX, 8). From its name, 'the Iranian seed,' it seems to have been considered as the original seat of the Iranian race. It has been generally supposed to belong to Eastern Iran, like the provinces which are enumerated after it, chiefly on account of the name of its river, the Vanguhi Dâitya, which was in the Sassanian times (as Vêh) the name of the Oxus. But the Bundahish distinctly states that Irân-Vêg is 'bordering upon Adarbaigân' (XXIX, 12); now, Adarbaigân is bordered by the Caspian Sea on the east, by the Rangha provinces on the west, by Media proper on the south, and by Arrân on the north. The Rangha provinces are out of question, since they are mentioned at the end of the Fargard (§ 20), and the climatic conditions of Irân-Vêg with its long winter likewise exclude Media and suit Arrân, where the summer lasts hardly two months (cf. § 4, note 6). The very name agrees, as the country

[4] For this note see next page.

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Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the serpent in the river [5] and Winter, a work of the Daêvas [6].

4 (9). There are ten winter months there, two summer months [7]; and those are cold for the waters [8], cold for the earth, cold for the trees [9]. Winter falls there, the worst of all plagues.

5 (13). The second of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the plain [10] which the Sughdhas inhabit [11].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death,

known as Arrân seems to have been known to the Greeks as Ἀρμανία (Stephanus Byz.), which brings it close to our Airyanem. On the Vanguhi Dâitya, see following note.

[4] The Vanguhi Dâitya, belonging to Arrân, must be the modern Aras (the classic Araxes). The Aras was named Vanguhi, like the Oxus, but distinguished from it by the addition Dâitya, which made it 'the Vanguhi of the Law' (the Vanguhi by which Zoroaster received the Law).

[5] 'There are many Khrafstras in the Dâitîk, as it is said, The Dâitîk full of Khrafstras' (Bund. XX, 13). Snakes abound on the banks of the Araxes (Morier, A Second Journey, p. 250) nowadays as much as in the time of Pompeius, to whom they barred the way from Albania to Hyrcania (Plut.)

[6] Arrân (Karabagh) is celebrated for its cold winter as well as for its beauty. At the Naurôz (first day of spring) the fields still lie under the snow. The temperature does not become milder before the second fortnight of April; no flower is seen before May. Summer, which is marked by the migration of the nomads from the plain to the mountains, begins about the 20th of June and ends in the middle of August.

[7] Vendîdâd Sâda: 'It is known that [in the ordinary course of nature] there are seven months of summer and five of winter' (see Bund. XXV).

[8] Some say: 'Even those two months of summer are cold for the waters . . .' (Comm.; cf. Mainyô-i-khard XLIV, 20).

[9] Vend. Sâda: 'There reigns the core and heart of winter.'

[10] Doubtful. [11] Old P. Suguda; Sogdiana.

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and he counter-created the locust[1], which brings death unto cattle and plants.

6 (17). The third of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy Môuru[2].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created plunder and sin[3].

7 (21). The fourth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Bâkhdhi[4] with high-lifted banners.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the ants and the ant-hills[5].

8 (25). The fifth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Nisâya[6], that lies between Môuru and Bâkhdhi.

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[1] 'The plague that fell to that country was the bad locust: it devours the plants and death comes to the cattle' (Gr. Bund.)

[2] Margu; Μαργιανή; Marv.

[3] Doubtful.—The Gr. Bd. has: 'The plague that fell to that country was the coming and going of troops: for there is always there an evil concourse of horsemen, thieves, robbers, and heretics, who speak untruth and oppress the righteous.'—Marv continued to be the resort of Turanian plunderers till the recent Russian annexation.

[4] Bâkhtri; Βάκτρα; Balkh.

[5] 'The corn-carrying ants' (Asp.; cf. Farg. XIV, 5).

[6] By contradistinction to other places of the same name. There was a Nisâya, in Media, where Darius put to death the Mage Gaumâta (Bahistûn I, 58). There was also a Nisâ in Fârs, another in Kirmân, a third again on the way from Amol to Marv (Tabari, tr. Noeldeke, p. 101, 2), which may be the same as Νισαία, the capital of Parthia (Παρθάνισα ap. Isid. of Charax 12); cf. Pliny VI, 25 (29). One may therefore be tempted to translate, 'Nisâya between which and Bâkhdhi Môuru lies;' but the text hardly admits of that construction, and we must suppose the existence of another Nisâya on the way from Balkh to Marv.

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Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of unbelief[1].

9 (29). The sixth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the house-deserting Harôyu[2].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created tears and wailing[3].

10 (33). The seventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Vaêkereta[4], of the evil shadows.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the Pairika Knãthaiti, who clave unto Keresâspa[5].

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[1] There are people there 'who doubt the existence of God' (Comm.)

[2] Harôyu, Old P. Haraiva (transcribed in Greek and Latin Ἀρεία Aria instead of Ἀρεία Haria, by a confusion with the name of the Aryans); P. Harê (in Firdausi and in Harê-rûd; Harât is an Arabicised form.—'The house-deserting Harê: because there, when a man dies in a house, the people of the house leave it and go. We keep the ordinances for nine days or a month: they leave the house and absent themselves from it for nine days or a month' (Gr. Bd.) Cf. Vd. V, 42.

[3] 'The tears and wailing for the dead,' the voceros. The tears shed over a dead man grow to a river that prevents his crossing the *K*învat bridge (Saddar 96; Ardâ Vîrâf XVI, 7, 10).

[4] Vaêkereta, an older name of Kâbul (Kâpûl: Comm. and Gr. Bd.); perhaps the Ptolemeian Βαγάρδα in Paropanisus (Ptol. VI, 18).

[5] The Pairika, in Zoroastrian mythology, symbolises idolatry (uzdês-parastîh). The land of Kâbul, till the Musulman invasion, belonged to the Indian civilisation and was mostly of Brahmanical and Buddhistic religion. The Pairika Khnãthaiti will be destroyed at the end of the world by Saoshyañt, the unborn son of Zarathustra (when all false religions vanish before the true one; Vd. XIX, 5).—Sâma Keresâspa, the Garshâsp of later tradition, is the type of impious heroism: he let himself be seduced to the Daêva-worship, and Zoroaster saw him punished in hell for his contempt of Zoroastrian observances.

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11 (37). The eighth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Urva of the rich pastures [1].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of pride [2].

12 (41). The ninth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Khne*n*ta which the Vehrkânas [3] inhabit.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the unnatural sin [4].

13 (45). The tenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the beautiful Harahvaiti [5].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the burying of the dead [6].

14 (49). The eleventh of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the bright, glorious Haêtuma*n*t [7].

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[1] Urva, according to Gr. Bd. Mêshan, that is to say Mesene (Μεσήνη), the region of lower Euphrates, famous for its fertility (Herodotos I, 193): it was for four centuries (from about 150 B.C. to 225 A.D.) the seat of a flourishing commercial state.

[2] 'The people of Mêshan are proud: there are no people worse than they' (Gr. Bd.)

[3] 'Khne*n*ta is a river in Vehrkâna (Hyrcania)' (Comm.); consequently the river *Gorg*ân.

[4] See Farg. VIII, 31–32.

[5] Harauvati; Ἀραχωσία; corrupted into Ar-rokha*g* (name of the country in the Arabic literature) and Arghand (in the modern name of the river Arghand-âb).

[6] See Farg. III, 36 seq.

[7] The basin of the Ἐτύμανδρος or Erymanthus, now Hermend, Helmend, that is to say, the region of Saistân.

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Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the evil work of witchcraft.

15 (53). And this is the sign by which it is known, this is that by which it is seen at once: wheresoever they may go and raise a cry of sorcery, there[1] the worst works of witchcraft go forth. From there they come to kill and strike at heart, and they bring locusts as many as they want[2].

16 (59). The twelfth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Ragha[3] of the three races[4].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created the sin of utter unbelief[5].

17 (63). The thirteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the strong, holy *K*akhra[6].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death,

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[1] In Haêtuma*nt*.—'The plague created against Saistân is abundance of witchcraft: and that character appears from this, that all people from that place practise astrology: those wizards produce . . . snow, hail, spiders, and locusts' (Gr. Bd.) Saistân, like Kâbul, was half Indian (Maçoudi, II, 79–82), and Brahmans and Buddhists have the credit of being proficient in the darker sciences.

[2] This clause seems to be a quotation in the Pahlavi Commentary.

[3] Ragha, transcribed Râk and identified by the Commentary with Adarbai*g*ân and 'according to some' with Rai (the Greek 'Pa*y*ai in Media). There were apparently two Raghas, one in Atropatene, another in Media.

[4] 'That means that the three classes, priests, warriors, and husbandmen, were well organised there' (Comm. and Gr. Bd.)

[5] 'They doubt themselves and cause other people to doubt' (Comm.)

[6] There were two towns of that name (*K*arkh), one in Khorasan, and the other in Ghaznin.

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and he counter-created a sin for which there is no atonement, the cooking of corpses [1].

18 (67). The fourteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the four-cornered Varena [2], for which was born Thraêtaona, who smote Azi Dahâka.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created abnormal issues in women [3] and barbarian oppression [4].

19 (72). The fifteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Seven Rivers [5].

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created abnormal issues in women and excessive heat.

20 (76). The sixteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the land by the sources (?) of the Rangha [6], where people live who have no chiefs [7].

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[1] 'Cooking a corpse and eating it. They cook foxes and weasels and eat them' (Gr. Bd.) See Farg. VIII, 73–74.

[2] Varn, identified by the Comm. either with Patashkhvârgar or with Dailam (that is to say Tabaristân or Gîlân). The Gr. Bd. identifies it with Mount Damâvand (which belongs to Patashkhvârgar): this is the mountain where Azi Dahâka was bound with iron bonds by Thraêtaona.—'Four-cornered:' Tabaristân has rudely the shape of a quadrilateral.

[3] Farg. XVI, 11 seq.

[4] The aborigines of the Caspian littoral were Anarian savages, the so-called 'Demons of Mâzana.'

[5] Hapta hiⁿdava, the basin of the affluents of the Indus, the modern Paⁿgâb (=the Five Rivers), formerly called Hind, by contradistinction to Sindh, the basin of the lower river.

[6] 'Arvastân-i-Rûm (Roman Mesopotamia)' (Comm.), that is to say, the basin of the upper Tigris (Rangha = Arvand = Tigris).

[7] 'People who do not hold the chief for a chief' (Comm.), which

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Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created Winter[1], a work of the Daêvas[2].

21 (81). There are still other lands and countries[3], beautiful and deep, longing and asking for the good, and bright.

Fargard II.

Yima (*G*amshê*d*).

This Fargard may be divided into two parts.

First part (1–20). Ahura Mazda proposes to Yima, the son of Vîvanghat, to receive the law from him and to bring it to men. On his refusal, he bids him keep his creatures and make them prosper. Yima accordingly makes them thrive and increase, keeps death and disease away from them, and three times enlarges the earth, which had become too narrow for its inhabitants.

Second part (21 to the end). On the approach of a dire winter, which is to destroy every living creature, Yima, being advised by Ahura, builds a Vara to keep there the finest representatives of every kind of animals and plants, and they live there a life of perfect happiness.

It is difficult not to acknowledge in the latter legend a Zoroastrian adaptation of the deluge, whether it was borrowed from the Bible or from the Chaldaean mythology. The similitude is so striking that it did not escape the Musulmans, and Maçoudi states that certain authors place the date of the deluge in the time of *G*amshê*d*. There are essential and necessary differences between the two legends, the chief one being that in the monotheistic narration the

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is the translation for asraosha (Comm. ad XVI, 18), 'rebel against the law,' and would well apply to the non-Mazdean people of Arvastân-i-Rûm.

[1] The severe winters in the upper valleys of the Tigris.

[2] The Vendîdâd Sâda has here: taozyâ*k*a daṅh*e*u*s* aiwi*s*târa, which the Gr. Bd. understands as: 'and the Tâjîk (the Arabs) are oppressive there.'

[3] 'Some say: Persis' (Comm.)

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deluge is sent as a punishment from God, whereas in the dualistic version it is a plague from the Daêvas: but the core of the two legends is the same: the hero in both is a righteous man who, forewarned by God, builds a refuge to receive choice specimens of mankind, intended some day to replace an imperfect humanity, destroyed by a universal calamity.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda:

O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

Who was the first mortal, before myself, Zarathustra, with whom thou, Ahura Mazda, didst converse[1], whom thou didst teach the Religion of Ahura, the Religion of Zarathustra?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered:

The fair Yima, the good shepherd[2], O holy Zarathustra! he was the first mortal, before thee, Zarathustra, with whom I, Ahura Mazda, did converse, whom I taught the Religion of Ahura, the Religion of Zarathustra.

3 (7). Unto him, O Zarathustra, I, Ahura Mazda, spake, saying: 'Well, fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, be thou the preacher and the bearer of my Religion!'

And the fair Yima, O Zarathustra, replied unto me, saying:

'I was not born, I was not taught to be the preacher and the bearer of thy Religion.'

4 (11). Then I, Ahura Mazda, said thus unto him, O Zarathustra:

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[1] 'On the Religion' (Comm.)

[2] 'His being a good shepherd means that he held in good condition herds of men and herds of animals' (Comm.)

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'Since thou dost not consent to be the preacher and the bearer of my Religion, then make thou my world increase, make my world grow: consent thou to nourish, to rule, and to watch over my world.'

5 (14). And the fair Yima replied unto me, O Zarathustra, saying:

'Yes! I will make thy world increase, I will make thy world grow. Yes! I will nourish, and rule, and watch over thy world. There shall be, while I am king, neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither disease nor death.'

7 (17)[1]. Then I, Ahura Mazda, brought two implements unto him: a golden seal and a poniard inlaid with gold[2]. Behold, here Yima bears the royal sway!

8 (20). Thus, under the sway of Yima, three hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

9. Then I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.'

[1] § 6 is composed of unconnected Zend quotations, which are no part of the text and are introduced by the commentator for the purpose of showing that 'although Yima did not teach the law and train pupils, he was nevertheless a faithful and a holy man, and rendered men holy too (?).' See FRAGMENTS to the Vendîdâd.

[2] As the symbol and the instrument of sovereignty. 'He reigned supreme by the strength of the ring and of the poniard' (Asp.) Thus Farîdûn gives royal investiture to Irag 'with the sword and the seal, the ring and the crown' (Firdausi).—The king is master 'of the sword, the throne, and the ring.'

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10. Then Yima stepped forward, in-light[1], southwards[2], on the way of the sun[3], and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus:

'O Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti[4], kindly[5] open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

11. And Yima made the earth grow larger by one-third than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

12 (23). Thus, under the sway of Yima, six hundred winters passed away, and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

13. And I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.'

14. Then Yima stepped forward, in light, south-

[1] That is to say, his body being all resplendent with light. Cf. Albîrûnî's Chronology (tr. by Sachau, p. 202): 'Jam rose on that day (Naurôz) like the sun, the light beaming forth from him, as though he shone like the sun.'

[2] The warm South is the region of Paradise (Yasht XXII, 7): the North is the seat of the cold winds, of the demons and hell (Vd. XIX, 1; VII, 2).

[3] Thence is derived the following tradition recorded by G. du Chinon: 'Ils en nomment un qui s'allait tous les jours promener dans le Ciel du Soleil d'où il aportait la sciance des Astres, aprez les avoir visités de si prez. Ils nomment ce grand personnage Gemachid' (Relations nouvelles du Levant, Lyon, 1671, p. 478).

[4] The Genius of the Earth.

[5] 'Do this out of kindness to the creatures' (Comm.)

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wards, on the way of the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus:

'O Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

15. And Yima made the earth grow larger by two-thirds than it was before, and there came flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

16 (26). Thus, under the sway of Yima, nine hundred winters passed away[1], and the earth was replenished with flocks and herds, with men and dogs and birds and with red blazing fires, and there was room no more for flocks, herds, and men.

17 (28). And I warned the fair Yima, saying: 'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat, the earth has become full of flocks and herds, of men and dogs and birds and of red blazing fires, and there is room no more for flocks, herds, and men.'

18 (31). Then Yima stepped forward, in light, southwards, on the way of the sun, and (afterwards) he pressed the earth with the golden seal, and bored it with the poniard, speaking thus:

'O Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti, kindly open asunder and stretch thyself afar, to bear flocks and herds and men.'

19 (37). And Yima made the earth grow larger by three-thirds than it was before, and there came

[1] Yima, according to Yt. IX, 10, made immortality reign on the earth for a thousand years. The remaining century was spent in the Vara ('for a hundred years, *G*im was in the Var,' says the Gr. Bund.) On Yima's fall, see Yt. XIX, 34; cf. Yt. V, 25–31.

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flocks and herds and men, at their will and wish, as many as he wished.

II.

21 (42)[1]. The Maker, Ahura Mazda, called together a meeting of the celestial Yazatas in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya[2].

The fair Yima, the good shepherd, called together a meeting of the best of the mortals[3], in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya.

To that meeting came Ahura Mazda, in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya; he came together with the celestial Yazatas.

To that meeting came the fair Yima, the good shepherd, in the Airyana Vaêgô of high renown, by the Vanguhi Dâitya; he came together with the best of the mortals.

22 (46). And Ahura Mazda spake unto Yima, saying:

'O fair Yima, son of Vîvanghat! Upon the material world the evil winters are about to fall, that shall bring the fierce, deadly frost; upon the material world the evil winters[4] are about to fall, that shall

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[1] § 20 belongs to the Commentary. See FRAGMENTS to the Vendîdâd.

[2] See Farg. I, notes to § 2.

[3] The best types of mankind, chosen to live in the Var during the Malkôsân and repeople the earth when the Var opens.

[4] The Commentary has here Malkôsân, a word wrongly identified with the Hebrew Malqôs, which designates the beneficent autumn rains. Malkôsân are the winters let loose by a demon or wizard named Malkôs, in Zend Mahrkûsha 'the death-causing' (see Westergaard's Fragments, VIII).

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make snow-flakes fall thick, even an aredvî deep on the highest tops of mountains [1].

23 (52). 'And the beasts that live in the wilderness [2], and those that live on the tops of the mountains [3], and those that live in the bosom of the dale [4] shall take shelter in underground abodes.

24 (57). 'Before that winter, the country would bear plenty of grass for cattle, before the waters had flooded it. Now after the melting of the snow, O Yima, a place wherein the footprint of a sheep may be seen will be a wonder in the world.

25 (61). 'Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square [5], and thither bring the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires [6].

'Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, for oxen and sheep.

26 (65) 'There thou shalt make waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there thou shalt settle birds, on the green that never fades, with food that never fails. There thou shalt establish dwelling-places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery [7].

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[1] 'Even where it (the snow) is least, it will be one Vîtasti two fingers deep' (Comm.); that is, fourteen fingers deep.

[2] The Comm. has, strangely enough, 'for instance, Ispâhân.'

[3] 'For instance, Apârsên (the Upairisaêna or Hindû-Kûsh).'

[4] 'For instance, Khorastân (the plain of Khorasan).'

[5] 'Two hâthras long on every side' (Comm.) A hâthra is about an English mile.

[6] That is to say, specimens of each species.

[7] The last three words are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα of doubtful meaning.

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27 (70). 'Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth [1]; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth.

28 (74). 'Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of tree, of the highest of size and sweetest of odour on this earth [2]; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of fruit, the best of savour and sweetest of odour [3]. All those seeds shalt thou bring, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

29 (80). 'There shall be no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no one malicious, no liar; no one spiteful, none jealous; no one with decayed tooth, no leprous to be pent up [4], nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals [5].

30 (87). 'In the largest part of the place thou shalt make nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part thou shalt bring a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hun-

[1] The best specimens of mankind, to be the origin of the more perfect races of the latter days.

[2] 'The highest of size, like the cypress and the plane-tree; the sweetest of odour, like the rose and the jessamine' (Comm.)

[3] 'The best of savour, like the date; the sweetest of odour, like the citron' (Comm.)

[4] 'A man, afflicted with leprosy, is not allowed to enter a town and mix with the other Persians' (Herod. I, 138; he was supposed to have sinned against the sun). Ctesias has a tale of how Megabyzes escaped his enemies by simulating leprosy.

[5] In order that the new mankind may be exempt from all moral and physical deformities.

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dred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred [1]. That Vara thou shalt seal up with thy golden seal, and thou shalt make a door, and a window self-shining within.'

31 (93). Then Yima said within himself: 'How shall I manage to make that Vara which Ahura Mazda has commanded me to make?'

And Ahura Mazda said unto Yima: 'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat! Crush the earth with a stamp of thy heel, and then knead it with thy hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay [2].'

[32. And Yima did as Ahura Mazda wished; he crushed the earth with a stamp of his heel, he kneaded it with his hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay [3].]

33 (97). And Yima made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square. There he brought the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires. . He made a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, for oxen and sheep.

34 (101). There he made waters flow in a bed a hâthra long; there he settled birds, on the green that never fades, with food that never fails. There

[1] This division of the Var into three quarters very likely answers the distinction of the three classes.

[2] In the Shâh Nâmah *G*amshîd teaches the Dîvs to make and knead clay 'by mixing the earth with water;' and they build palaces at his bidding. It was his renown, both as a wise king and a great builder, that caused the Musulmans to identify him with Solomon.

[3] From the Vendîdâd Sâda.

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he established dwelling-places, consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery.

35 (106). There he brought the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth.

36 (110). There he brought the seeds of every kind of tree, of the highest of size and sweetest of odour on this earth; there he brought the seeds of every kind of fruit, the best of savour and sweetest of odour. All those seeds he brought, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

37 (116). And there were no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no one malicious, no liar; no one spiteful, none jealous; no one with decayed tooth, no leprous to be pent up, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.

38 (123). In the largest part of the place he made nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of the largest part he brought a thousand seeds of men and women; to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of the smallest part, three hundred. That Vara he sealed up with the golden ring, and he made a door, and a window self-shining within.

39 (129). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What are the lights that give light in the Vara which Yima made?

40 (131). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are uncreated lights and created lights[1]. The one

[1] The endless light, which is eternal, and artificial lights. The Commentary has here the following Zend quotation: 'The un-

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thing missed there is the sight of the stars, the moon, and the sun [1], and a year seems only as a day [2].

41 (133). 'Every fortieth year, to every couple two are born, a male and a female [3]. And thus it is for every sort of cattle. And the men in the Vara which Yima made live the happiest life [4].'

42 (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is he who brought the Religion of Mazda into the Vara which Yima made?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It was the bird Karshipta [5], O holy Zarathustra!'

43 (140). O Maker of the material world, thou

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created light shines from above; all the created lights shine from below.'

[1] The people in the Var cannot see them, since the Var is underground. That is why the Var has lights of its own.

[2] As there is no daily revolution of the sun.

[3] Cf. the description of Irân-vêg according to a later source, the Mainyô-i-khard (as translated by West): 'Hôrmezd created *Ê*rã-vêz better than the remaining places and districts; and its goodness was this, that men's life is three hundred years; and cattle and sheep, one hundred and fifty years; and their pain and sickness are little, and they do not circulate falsehood, and they make no lamentation and weeping; and the sovereignty of the demon of Avarice, in their body, is little, and in ten men, if they eat one loaf, they are satisfied; and in every forty years, from one woman and one man, one child is born; and their law is goodness, and religion the primeval religion, and when they die, they are righteous (=blessed); and their chief is Gôpatshâh, and the ruler and king is Srôsh' (XLIV, 24).

[4] 'They live there for 150 years; some say, they never die' (Comm.)

[5] 'The bird Karshipta dwells in the heavens: were he living on the earth, he would be the king of birds. He brought the Religion into the Var of Yima, and recites the Avesta in the language of birds' (Bund. XIX and XXIV). The Comm. identifies the Karshiptan with the *K*akhravâk, that is the *K*akravâka of poetical reputation in India.

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Holy One! Who are the Lord and the Master there?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Urvata*d*-nara[1], O Zarathustra! and thyself, Zarathustra.'

Fargard III.

The Earth.

'Les Guèbres,' says Chardin (ed. Langlès, VIII, 358), 'regardent l'agriculture, non seulement comme une profession belle et innocente, mais aussi comme méritoire et noble, et ils croient que c'est la première de toutes les vocations, celle pour quoi le Dieu souverain et les dieux inférieurs, comme ils parlent, ont le plus de complaisance et qu'ils recompensent le plus largement. Cette opinion, tournée en créance parmi eux, fait qu'ils se portent naturellement à travailler à la terre et qu'ils s'y exercent le plus: leurs prêtres leur enseignent que la plus vertueuse activité est d'engendrer des enfants (cf. Farg. IV, 47) et après de cultiver une terre qui serait en friche (cf. infra, § 4), de planter un arbre soit fruitier, soit autre.'

The classical writers (Xenophon, Oeconomica, IV, 4 seq.; Polybius, X, 28, quoted § 4, note) express themselves to the same effect, and their testimony has been lately corroborated, in a most unexpected way, by a Greek inscription[2], emanating from no less an authority than King Darius himself, who congratulates his satrap in Asia Minor, Gadates, 'for working well the King's earth and transplanting in lower Asia the fruits of the country beyond

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[1] Zarathustra had three sons during his lifetime, Isa*d*-vâstra, Hvare-*k*ithra, and Urvata*d*-nara, who were respectively the fathers and chiefs of the three classes, priests, warriors, and husbandmen. Urvata*d*-nara, as a husbandman, was chosen to be the ahu or temporal Lord of the Var, on account of the Var being underground. Zarathustra, as a heavenly priest, was, by right, the ratu or Spiritual Lord in Airyana Vaê*g*ô, where he founded the Religion by a sacrifice (Bund. XXXIII and Introd. III, 15).

[2] Discovered at Deremendjik, near Magnesia, on the Maeander: by Cousin and Deschamps (Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique, XIII, 529).

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Euphrates (ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν ἐκπονεῖς γῆν, τοὺς πέραν Εὐφράτου καρποὺς ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας μέρη καταφυτεύων).

The third Fargard may serve as a Commentary to those texts. The principal subject is, as the Dînkard has it:

What comforts most the Genius of the Earth (§§ 1–6)?
What discomforts most the Genius of the Earth (§§ 7–11)?
What rejoices the Earth most (§§ 12–35)?

In each of these three developments a series of five objects is considered. Series I and II, though expressed in symmetrical terms, do not answer one another: there is greater symmetry, as to the ideas, between the second series and the third. Series I and II are a dry enumeration. The third series contains two interesting digressions, one on the funeral laws (§§ 14–21), and the other on the sanctity of husbandry (§§ 24–33).

The Fargard ends with a development forbidding the burial of the dead (§§ 36–42): it is a sort of commentary to § 8.

The subject of this chapter has become a commonplace topic with the Parsis, who have treated it more or less antithetically in the Mainyô-i-khard (chaps. V and VI) and in the Ravâets (Gr. Rav. pp. 434–437).

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth[1] feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful steps forward, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the log in his hand[2], the Baresma[3] in his hand, the milk[4] in his hand, the mortar[5] in his

[1] 'The Genius of the Earth' (Comm.)

[2] The wood for the fire altar.

[3] The Baresma (now called barsom) is a bundle of sacred twigs which the priest holds in his hand while reciting the prayers. (See Farg. XIX, 18 seq. and notes.)

[4] The so-called *g*îv or *g*îvâm, one of the elements of the Haoma sacrifice.

[5] The Hâvana or mortar used in crushing the Haoma or Hôm.

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hand, lifting up his voice in good accord with religion, and beseeching Mithra[1], the lord of the rolling country-side, and Râma *Hv*âstra[2].'

2, 3 (6–10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon one of the faithful erects a house with a priest within[3], with cattle, with a wife, with children, and good herds within; and wherein afterwards the cattle continue to thrive, virtue to thrive[4], fodder to thrive, the dog to thrive, the wife to thrive, the child to thrive, the fire to thrive, and every blessing of life to thrive.'

4 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where one of the faithful sows most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! where he waters ground that is dry, or drains ground that is too wet[5].'

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[1] Mithra, the Persian Apollo, sometimes like him identified with the Sun, is invoked here as making the earth fertile. 'Why do not you worship the Sun? asked king Yazdgard the Christians. Is he not the god who lights up with his rays all the world, and through whose warmth the food of men and cattle grows ripe?' (Elisaeus.)

[2] The god that gives food its savour: he is an acolyte to Mithra.

[3] With the domestic chaplain (the Panthakî).

[4] By the performance of worship.

[5] Under the Achaemanian kings countrymen who brought water to places naturally dry received the usufruct of the ground for five generations (Polybius, X, 28). But for those underground canals (called Kanâts), which bring water from the mountains all through the Iranian desert, Persia would starve.

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5 (15). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where there is most increase of flocks and herds.'

6 (18). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels most happy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place where flocks and herds yield most dung.'

II.

7 (21). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the neck of Arezûra[1], whereon the hosts of fiends rush forth from the burrow of the Drug[2].'

8 (25). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the second place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein most corpses of dogs and of men lie buried[3].'

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[1] The neck of Arezûra (Arezûrahê grîva) is 'a mount at the gate of hell, whence the demons rush forth' (Bund. XII, 8; Dâdistân XXXIII, 5); it is also called 'the head of Arezûra' (Farg. XIX, 45), or 'the back of Arezûra' (Bund. XII, 2). Arezûra was a fiend, son of Ahriman, who was killed by the first man, Gayômard (Mainyô-i-khard XXVII, 15). The mount named from him lies in the North (which is the seat of the demons): it seems to belong to the Alborz chain, like the Damâvand (Bund. XII, 8), where Azi Dahâka was bound (Farg. I, 18, notes).

[2] Hell, the Drug being assimilated to a burrowing Khrafstra. Cf. Farg. VII, 24.

[3] 'It is declared in the good religion, that, when they conceal

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9 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the third place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon stand most of those Dakhmas on which the corpses of men are deposited[1].'

10 (31). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fourth place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place wherein are most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu[2].'

11 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the fifth place where the Earth feels sorest grief?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the place whereon

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a corpse beneath the ground, Spendârmad, the archangel, shudders; it is just as severe as a serpent or scorpion would be to any one in a sleeping-garment, and it is also just like that to the ground. When thou makest a corpse beneath the ground as it were apparent, thou makest the ground liberated from that affliction' (Saddar XXXIII, tr. by West, in the Sacred Books of the East, XXIV). Cf. Vd. VI, 51; VII, 45.

[1] With regard to Dakhmas, see Farg. VI, 45. 'Nor is the Earth happy at that place whereon stands a Dakhma with corpses upon it; for that patch of ground will never be clean again till the day of resurrection' (Gr. Rav. 435, 437). Although the erection of Dakhmas is enjoined by the law, yet the Dakhma in itself is as unclean as any spot on the earth can be, since it is always in contact with the dead (cf. Farg. VII, 55). The impurity which would otherwise be scattered over the whole world, is thus brought together to one and the same spot. Yet even that spot, in spite of the Ravâet, is not to lie defiled for ever, as every fifty years the Dakhmas ought to be pulled down, so that their sites may be restored to their natural purity (see Farg. VII, 49 seq. and this Farg. § 13).

[2] 'Where there are most Khrafstras' (noxious animals).

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the wife and children of one of the faithful[1], O Spitama Zarathustra! are driven along the way of captivity, the dry, the dusty way, and lift up a voice of wailing.'

III.

12 (38). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the first that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who digs out of it most corpses of dogs and men[2].'

13 (41). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the second that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who pulls down most of those Dakhmas on which the corpses of men are deposited[3].'

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14 (44). Let no man alone by himself[4] carry a corpse[5]. If a man alone by himself carry a corpse,

[1] Killed by an enemy.

[2] This joy answers the second grief of the earth (§ 8; cf. note). There is no counterpart given to the first grief (§ 7), because, as the Commentary naively expresses it, 'it is not possible now so to dig out hell,' which will be done at the end of the world (Bund. XXX, 32).

[3] This answers the third grief (§ 9; cf. note).

[4] No ceremony in general can be performed by one man alone. Two Mobeds are wanted to perform the Vendîdâd service, two priests for the Barashnûm, two persons for the Sag-dîd (Anquetil, II, 584 n.) It is never good that the faithful should be alone, as the fiend is always lurking about, ready to take advantage of any moment of inattention. If the faithful be alone, there is no one to make up for any negligence and to prevent mischief arising from it. Never is the danger greater than in the present case, when the fiend is close at hand, and in direct contact with the faithful.

[5] A corpse from which the Nasu has not been expelled by the Sag-dîd ceremony (described Vd. VIII, 14–22).

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the Nasu[1] rushes upon him, to defile him, from the nose of the dead, from the eye, from the tongue, from the jaws, from the sexual organs, from the hinder parts. This Drug Nasu falls upon him, [stains him] even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever.

15 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be the place of that man who has carried a corpse [alone][2]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It shall be the place on this earth wherein is least water and fewest plants, whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful[3].'

16 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

17 (57). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces[4] from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.

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[1] The word Nasu has two meanings: it means either the corpse (nasâi), or the corpse-demon (the Drug Nasu, that is to say the demon who takes possession of the dead body and makes his presence felt by the decomposition of the body and infection).

[2] He cannot purify himself like the Nasâ-sâlâr (Vd. VIII, 13). 'He who carries a man, knowing that the man is dead and that the Sag-dîd has not been performed, commits a sin worthy of death (margarzân).' As the absence of Sag-dîd makes the infection worse, it is the same crime as if a man were to introduce a plague into the country.

[3] To avoid any contact of that man with pure beings.

[4] A pace (gâma) is as much as three feet (pâdha; Vd. IX, 8).

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18, 19 (58–63). 'There, on that place, shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure[1], and therein shall they establish him with food, therein shall they establish him with clothes, with the coarsest food and with the most worn-out clothes. That food he shall live on, those clothes he shall wear, and thus shall they let him live, until he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura, or of a Pairista-khshudra[2].

20, 21 (64–71). 'And when he has grown to the age of a Hana, or of a Zaurura[3], or of a Pairista-khshudra, then the worshippers of Mazda shall order a man strong, vigorous, and skilful[4], to cut the head off his neck[5], in his enclosure on the top of the mountain: and they shall deliver his corpse unto the greediest of the corpse-eating creatures made by the beneficent Spirit, unto the vultures, with these words: "The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds. If he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance[6]: if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance, for ever and ever."'

[1] The Armest-gâh, the place for the unclean; see Introd. V, 15.

[2] Hana means, literally, 'an old man;' Zaurura, 'a man broken down by age;' Pairista-khshudra, 'one whose seed is dried up.' These words have acquired the technical meanings of 'fifty, sixty, and seventy years old.'

[3] When he is near his death. The carrier alone (êvak-bar), being margarzân (see p. 27, n. 2), ought to have been put to death at once. The rigour of theory was abated in practice and delayed to the moment when the guilty man was to have paid to nature the debt due to religion.

[4] 'Trained to operations of that sort' (Comm.); a headsman.

[5] Perhaps: 'to flay him alive and cut off his head.' Cf. Farg. IX, 49, text and note.

[6] By the performance of the Patet.

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22 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the third that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who fills up most burrows of the creatures of Angra Mainyu[1].'

23 (75). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the fourth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is he who sows most corn, grass, and fruit, O Spitama Zarathustra! who waters ground that is dry, or drains ground that is too wet[2].

24 (79). 'Unhappy is the land that has long lain unsown with the seed of the sower and wants a good husbandman, like a well-shapen maiden who has long gone childless and wants a good husband.

25 (84). 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him will she bring forth plenty of fruit: even as it were a lover sleeping with his bride on her bed; the bride will bring forth children, the earth will bring forth plenty of fruit[3].

26, 27 (87–90). 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, here shall I ever go on bearing, bring-

[1] This joy answers the fourth grief of the earth (§ 10).

[2] This is identical with § 4, which is developed in the following clauses (§§ 24–34).

[3] The text has: 'she brings either a son or plenty of fruit,' she being either the woman or the earth.

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ing forth all manner of food, bringing corn first to thee [1]."

28, 29 (91–95). 'He who does not till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: "O thou man! who dost not till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, ever shalt thou stand at the door of the stranger, among those who beg for bread; the refuse and the crumbs of the bread are brought unto thee [2], brought by those who have profusion of wealth."'

30 (96). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that fills the Religion of Mazda [3]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is sowing corn again and again, O Spitama Zarathustra!

31 (99). 'He who sows corn, sows righteousness: he makes the Religion of Mazda walk, he suckles the Religion of Mazda; as well as he could do with a hundred man's feet, with a thousand woman's breasts [4], with ten thousand sacrificial formulas [5].

32 (105). 'When barley was created, the Daêvas

[1] 'When something good grows up, it will grow up for thee first' (Comm.) Perhaps: 'bringing to thee profusion of corn' ('some say, she will bring to thee 15 for 10;' Comm.)

[2] 'They take for themselves what is good and send to thee what is bad' (Comm.)

[3] Literally, 'What is the stomach of the law?'

[4] 'He makes the Religion of Mazda as fat as a child could be made by means of a hundred feet, that is to say, of fifty servants walking to rock him; of a thousand breasts, that is, of five hundred nurses' (Comm.)

[5] With the recitation of 10,000 Yênghê hâtâm, that is to say, as if one had performed for his weal as many sacrifices as contain 10,000 Yênghê hâtâm.

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started up[1]; when it grew[2], then fainted the Daêvas' hearts; when the knots came[3], the Daêvas groaned; when the ear came, the Daêvas flew away[4]. In that house the Daêvas stay, wherein wheat perishes[5]. It is as though red hot iron were turned about in their throats, when there is plenty of corn[6].

33 (111). 'Then let people learn by heart this holy saying: "No one who does not eat, has strength to do heavy works of holiness[7], strength to do works of husbandry, strength to beget children. By eating every material creature lives, by not eating it dies away."'

34 (116). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the fifth that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?

Ahura Mazda answered: '[It is he who kindly and piously gives[8] to one of the faithful who tills the earth,] O Spitama Zarathustra!

35 (118). 'He who would not kindly and piously give to one of the faithful who tills the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! Spenta Ârmaiti[9] will throw him down into darkness, down into the world of woe, the world of hell, down into the deep abyss[10].'

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[1] John Barleycorn got up again,
And sore surpris'd them all.

[2] Doubtful. [3] Doubtful.

[4] The general meaning of the sentence is how the Dêvs are broken down 'by the growing, the increasing, and the ripening of the corn' (Dînkard, l. l. § 10).

[5] Doubtful. [6] Doubtful.

[7] 'Like the performance of the dvâzda hômâst' (the longest and most cumbersome of all Zoroastrian ceremonies).

[8] The Ashô-dâd or alms. The bracketed clause is from the Vendîdâd Sâda.

[9] The Genius of the Earth offended.

[10] Conjectural translation.

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IV.

36 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within half a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra[1], five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[1].'

37 (126). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within a year, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

38 (130). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall bury in the earth either the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man, and if he shall not disinter it within the second year, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

39 (135). Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

40 (137). When is it so?

'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the

[1] See Introduction.

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Religion of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it[1].

'But if he be not a professor of the Religion of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it[2], then his sin is taken from him, if he makes confession of the Religion of Mazda and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds[3].

41 (142). 'The Religion of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who makes confession of it the bonds of his sin[4]; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust[5]; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful[6]; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse[7]; it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the worst sin of usury[8]; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

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[1] A born Zoroastrian or a catechist: in both cases, he must have known that he was committing sin.

[2] He did not know that he was committing sin.

[3] He makes Patet and says to himself, 'I will never henceforth sin again' (Comm.)

[4] If not knowingly committed; see § 40 and the following notes.

[5] Doubtful. From the Commentary it appears that draosha must have meant a different sort of robbery: 'He knows that it is forbidden to steal, but he fancies that robbing the rich to give to the poor is a pious deed' (Comm.)

[6] Or better, 'a Mazdean,' but one who has committed a capital crime; 'he knows that it is allowed to kill the margarzân, but he does not know that it is not allowed to do so without an order from the judge.' Cf. VIII, 74 note.

[7] 'He knows that it is forbidden to bury a corpse; but he fancies that if one manages so that dogs or foxes may not take it to the fire and to the water, he behaves piously' (Comm.)—He fancies that the prohibition of burying the dead is meant only for the protection of the fire and the water, not of the earth herself.

[8] Or, possibly, 'the sin of usury.' 'He knows that it is lawful

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42 (149). 'In the same way the Religion of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain [1].

'So let all the deeds he doeth be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for his sin is effected by means of the Religion of Mazda.'

FARGARD IV.

Contracts and Outrages.

This Fargard is the only one in the Vendîdâd that deals strictly with legal objects.

I a. Classification of the contracts according to the value of their object (§ 2).—A contract is cancelled by paying the amount of the contract higher by one degree (§§ 3–4).

Religious responsibility of the family for the breach of a contract by one of its members (§§ 5–10).

Punishment of the Mihir-Drug (one who breaks a contract), (§§ 11–16).

II a. Definition of the outrages known as âgerepta (threatening attitude), avaoirista (assault), aredus (blows), (§ 17).

Penalties for menaces (§§ 18–21); for assaults (§§ 22–25); for blows (§§ 26–29); for wounds (§§ 30–33); for wounds causing blood to flow (§§ 34–36); for broken bones (§§ 37–39); for manslaughter (§§ 40–43).

III a. Contract of charity to co-religionists (§§ 44–45).

IV a. Heinousness of false oath (§ 46).

III b. Dignity of wealth; of marriage; of physical weal (§§ 47–49 a).

IV b. Heinousness of false oath. Ordeal (§§ 49 b–55).

Part of this Fargard has been made unduly obscure by the transposition of § 46, wrongly inserted between the clause on charity (§§ 44–45) and the corresponding development on the dignity of material goods. This transposition is found in all known manuscripts and belonged to the older text from which they are derived.

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to take high interest, but he does not know that it is not lawful to do so from the faithful' (Comm.)

[1] 'From chaff' (Comm.)

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I.

1. He that does not restore a loan to the man who lent it, steals the thing and robs the man [1]. This he doeth every day, every night, as long as he keep in his house his neighbour's property, as though it were his own [2].

I a.

2 (4). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How many in number are thy contracts, O Ahura Mazda?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are six in number, O holy Zarathustra [3]. The first is the word-contract [4]; the second is the hand-contract [5]; the third is the contract to the amount of a sheep [6]; the

[1] 'He is a thief when he takes with a view not to restore; he is a robber when, being asked to restore, he answers, I will not' (Comm.)

[2] Every moment that he holds it unlawfully, he steals it anew. 'The basest thing with Persians is to lie; the next to it is to be in debt, for this reason among many others, that he who is so, must needs sink to lying at last' (Herod. I, 183). The debtor in question is of course the debtor of bad faith, 'he who says to a man, Give me this, I will restore it to thee at the proper time, and he says to himself, I will not restore it' (Comm.)

[3] At first view it seems as if the classification were twofold, the contracts being defined in the first two clauses by their mode of being entered into, and in the last four by their amount. Yet it appears from the following clauses that even the word-contract and the hand-contract are indicative of a certain amount, which, however, the commentators did not, or were unable to, determine.

[4] The word-contract may be a contract of which the object are words: the contract of jâdangôi (ukhdhô-vaŋhah), by which one offers to speak and intervene for some one's benefit, or the contract between master and pupil (for teaching the sacred texts).

[5] The contract for hiring labour (?).

[6] 'Viz. to the amount of 3 istîrs [in weight],' (Comm.) An istîr (στατήρ) is as much as 4 dirhems (δραχμή).

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fourth is the contract to the amount of an ox [1]; the fifth is the contract to the amount of a man [2]; the sixth is the contract to the amount of a field [3], a field in good land, a fruitful one, in good bearing [4].'

3 (13). The word-contract is fulfilled by words of mouth.

It is cancelled by the hand-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the hand-contract.

4 (16). The hand-contract is cancelled by the sheep-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the sheep-contract.

The sheep-contract is cancelled by the ox-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the ox-contract.

The ox-contract is cancelled by the man-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the man-contract.

The man-contract is cancelled by the field-contract; he shall give as damages the amount of the field-contract.

5 (24). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, how many are involved in his sin [5]?

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[1] 'To the amount of 12 istîrs (=48 dirhems),' (Comm.)

[2] 'To the amount of 500 dirhems.' The exact translation would be rather, 'The contract to the amount of a human being' (promise of marriage).

[3] 'Upwards of 500 istîrs.'

[4] A sort of gloss added to define more accurately the value of the object, and to indicate that it is greater than that of the preceding one.

[5] Literally, how much is involved? The joint responsibility of the family was a principle in the Persian law: 'Leges apud eos impendio formidatae, et abominandae aliae, per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit' (Am. Marcellinus XXIII, 6).

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas[1] answerable for three hundred (years)[2].'

6 (26). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for six hundred (years)[3].'

7 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for seven hundred (years)[4].'

8 (30). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for eight hundred (years)[5].'

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[1] The next of kin to the ninth degree.

[2] See § 11. This passage seems to have puzzled tradition. The Commentary says, 'How long, how many years, has one to fear for the breach of a word-contract?—the Nabânazdistas have to fear for three hundred years;' but it does not explain farther the nature of that fear; it only tries to reduce the circle of that liability to narrower limits: 'only the son born after the breach is liable for it; the righteous are not liable for it; when the father dies, the son, if righteous, has nothing to fear from it.' And finally, the Ravâets leave the kinsmen wholly aside; the penalty falling entirely upon the real offender, and the number denoting only the duration of his punishment in hell: 'He who breaks a word-contract, his soul shall abide for three hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. 94).

[3] See § 12. 'His soul shall abide for six hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. l. l.)

[4] See § 13. 'His soul shall abide for seven hundred years in hell' (Gr. Rav. l. l.)

[5] See § 14. 'His soul shall abide for eight hundred years in hell.'

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9 (32). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for nine hundred (years)[1].'

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, how many are involved in his sin?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His sin makes his Nabânazdistas answerable for a thousand (years)[2].'

11 (36). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the word-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, three hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[3].'

12 (39). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the hand-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[4].'

13 (42). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the sheep-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[5].'

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[1] See § 15. 'His soul shall abide for nine hundred years in hell.'

[2] See § 16. 'His soul shall abide for a thousand years in hell.'

[3] One tanâfûhr and a half, that is 1800 dirhems. See Introd.

[4] Three tanâfûhrs, or 3600 dirhems.

[5] Three tanâfûhrs and a half, or 4200 dirhems.

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14 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the ox-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana [1].'

15 (48). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the man-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, nine hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana [2].'

16 (51). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man break the field-contract, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana [3].'

II a.

17 (54). If a man rise up with a weapon in his hand, it is an Âgerepta [4]. If he brandish it, it is

[1] Four tanâfûhrs, or 4800 dirhems.

[2] Four tanâfûhrs and a half, or 5400 dirhems.

[3] Five tanâfûhrs, or 6000 dirhems.

[4] In this paragraph are defined the first three of the eight outrages with which the rest of the Fargard deals. Only these three are defined, because they are designated by technical terms. We subjoin the definitions of them found in a Sanskrit translation of a Patet (Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. B. 5, 154), in which their etymological meanings are better preserved than in the Zend definition itself:—

Âgerepta, 'seizing,' is when a man seizes a weapon with a view to smite another.

Avaoirista, 'brandishing,' is when a man brandishes a weapon with a view to smite another.

Aredus is when a man actually smites another with a weapon,

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an Avaoirista. If he actually smite a man with malicious aforethought, it is an Aredus. Upon the fifth Aredus[1] he becomes a Peshôtanu[2].

18 (58). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He that committeth an Âgerepta, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana;

'On the second Âgerepta, ten stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana;

'On the third, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.

19 (63). 'On the fourth, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana;

'On the fifth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana;

'On the sixth, sixty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, sixty stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana;

'On the seventh, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

20 (67). If a man commit an Âgerepta for the eighth time, without having atoned for the preceding[3], what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

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but without wounding him, or inflicts a wound which is healed within three days.

[1] Viz. on the sixth commission of it, as appears from § 28.

[2] He shall receive two hundred stripes, or shall pay 1200 dirhems (see Introd.)

[3] Literally, 'without having undone the preceding.'

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21 (70). If a man commit an Âgerepta[1], and refuse to atone for it[2], what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 (73). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ten stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the second Avaoirista, fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

23 (75). 'On the third, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fourth, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fifth, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the sixth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 (76). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista for the seventh time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

25 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Avaoirista, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay?

[1] Even though the Âgerepta has been committed for the first time.

[2] Literally, 'and does not undo it.' If he does not offer himself to bear the penalty, and does not perform the Patet (see Introd.)

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 (79). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifteen stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

27 (81). 'On the second Aredus, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the third, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fourth, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'On the fifth, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

28. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus for the sixth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

29 (82). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man commit an Aredus, and refuse to atone for it, what penalty shall he pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

30 (85). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another and hurt him sorely, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

31 (87). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes

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with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana;

'The second time, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana;

'The third time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana;

'The fourth time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

32 (89). If a man commit that deed for the fifth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

33 (90). If a man commit that deed and refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

34 (93). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the blood come, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana;

'The second time, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana;

'The third time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

35 (95). If he commit that deed for the fourth time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

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36 (96). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that the blood come, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

37 (99). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he break a bone, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana;

'The second time, ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

38 (102). If he commit that deed for the third time, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

39 (104). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he break a bone, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

40 (106). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he give up the ghost, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

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41 (109). If he commit that deed again, without having atoned for the preceding, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

42 (112). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man smite another so that he give up the ghost, and if he refuse to atone for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

43 (115). And they shall thenceforth in their doings walk after the way of holiness, after the word of holiness, after the ordinance of holiness.

III a[1].

44 (118). If men of the same faith, either friends or brothers, come to an agreement together, that one may obtain from the other, either goods[2], or a wife[3], or knowledge[4], let him who desires goods

[1] We return here to contracts; the logical place of §§ 44–45 would be after § 16.

[2] The analysis of the Vendîdâd in the Dînkard has here: 'a proof that one professes the Religion well is to grant bountifully to the brethren in the faith any benefit they may ask for.'

[3] Woman is an object of contract, like cattle or fields: she is disposed of by contracts of the fifth sort, being more valuable than cattle and less so than fields. She is sold by her father or her guardian, often from the cradle. 'Instances are not wanting of the betrothal of a boy of three years of age to a girl of two' (see Dosabhoy Framjee's work on The Parsees, p. 77; cf. 'A Bill to Define and Amend the Law relating to Succession, Inheritance, Marriage, &c.,' Bombay, 1864).

[4] On the holiness of the contract between pupil and teacher, see Yt. X, 116. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 4.

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have them delivered to him; let him who desires a wife receive and wed her; let him who desires knowledge be taught the holy word,

45 (123). during the first part of the day and the last, during the first part of the night and the last, that his mind may be increased in intelligence and wax strong in holiness. So shall he sit up, in devotion and prayers, that he may be increased in intelligence: he shall rest during the middle part of the day, during the middle part of the night[1], and thus shall he continue until he can say all the words which former Aêthrapaitis[2] have said.

IV a.

46 (128). Before the boiling water publicly prepared[3], O Spitama Zarathustra! let no one make bold to deny having received [from his neighbour] the ox or the garment in his possession.

III b.

47 (130)[4]. Verily I say it unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the man who has a wife is far above him who lives in continence[5]; he who keeps a house is far above him who has none; he who has

[1] He sleeps 'the third part of the day and the third part of the night' (Yasna LXII, 5).

[2] A teaching priest (Parsi Hêrbad).

[3] This clause is intended against false oaths taken in the so-called Var-ordeal (see § 54 n.) It ought to be placed before § 49 bis, where the penalty for a false oath is given.

[4] §§ 47–49 are a sort of commentary to the beginning of § 44.

[5] What king Yazdgard found most offensive in Christianity was 'that the Christians praise death and despise life, set no value upon fecundity and extol sterility, so that if their disciples would listen to

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children is far above the childless man[1]; he who has riches is far above him who has none.

48 (134). And of two men, he who fills himself with meat receives in him Vohu Manô[2] much better than he who does not do so[3]; the latter is all but dead; the former is above him by the worth of an Asperena[4], by the worth of a sheep, by the worth of an ox, by the worth of a man[5].

49 (137). This man can strive against the onsets of Astô-vîdhôtu[6]; he can strive against the well-darted arrow; he can strive against the winter

them, they would no longer have any intercourse with women and the world would end' (Elisaeus).

[1] 'In Persia there are prizes given by the king to those who have most children' (Herod. I, 136). 'He who has no child, the bridge (of Paradise) shall be barred to him. The first question the angels there will ask him is, whether he has left in this world a substitute for himself; if the answer be, No, they will pass by and he will stay at the head of the bridge, full of grief and sorrow' (Saddar 18; Hyde 19). The primitive meaning of this belief is explained by Brahmanical doctrine; the man without a son falls into hell, because there is nobody to pay him the family worship.

[2] Vohu Manô is at the same time the god of good thoughts and the god of cattle.

[3] 'There are people who strive to pass a day without eating, and who abstain from any meat; we strive too and abstain, namely, from any sin in deed, thought, or word: . . . in other religions, they fast from bread; in ours, we fast from sin' (Saddar 83).—'The Zoroastrians have no fasting at all. He who fasts commits a sin, and must, by way of expiation, give food to a number of poor people' (Albîrûnî, Chronology, p. 217).

[4] A dirhem.

[5] Or: 'is worth an Asperena, worth a sheep, worth an ox, worth a man,' which means, according to the Commentary: 'deserves the gift of an Asperena, of a sheep's value, an ox's value, a man's value.'

[6] Astô-vîdhôtu, the demon of death (Farg. V, 8). The man who eats well has greater vitality.

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fiend, with thinnest garment on; he can strive against the wicked tyrant and smite him on the head; he can strive against the ungodly fasting Ashemaogha [1].

IV b.

49 (bis). On the very first time when that deed [2] has been done, without waiting until it is done again,

50 (143). down there [3] the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should cut off the limbs from his perishable body with knives of brass, or still worse;

51 (146). down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should nail [4] his perishable body with nails of brass, or still worse;

52 (149). down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should by force throw his perishable body headlong down a precipice a hundred times the height of a man, or still worse;

53 (152). down there the pain for that deed shall be as hard as any in this world: even as if one should by force impale [5] his perishable body, or still worse.

54 (154). Down there the pain for his deed shall be as hard as any in this world: to wit, the deed of

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[1] The Commentary has: 'like Mazdak, son of Bâmdât,' the communistic heresiarch who flourished under Kobâd (488–531) and was put to death under Noshirvan.

[2] The taking of a false oath. Cf. § 46.

[3] In hell.

[4] Doubtful.

[5] Doubtful.

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a man, who, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden[1], truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu[2] and a lie unto Mithra[3].

55 (156). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden, truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu and a lie unto Mithra, what is the penalty that he shall pay[4]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

FARGARD V.

This chapter and the following ones, to the end of the twelfth, deal chiefly with uncleanness arising from the dead, and with the means of removing it from men and things.

The subjects treated in this Fargard are as follows:—

I (1–7). If a man defile the fire or the earth with dead matter (Nasu), involuntarily or unconsciously, it is no sin.

II (8–9). Water and fire do not kill.

III (10–14). Disposal of the dead during winter when it is not possible to take them to the Dakhma.

IV (15–20). Why Ahura, while forbidding man to defile water, sends water from the heavens down to the Dakhmas, covered with corpses. How he purifies that water.

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[1] The water before which the oath is taken contains some incense, brimstone, and one danak of molten gold (Gr. Rav. 101).

[2] The god of truth (Yt. XII). The formula is as follows: 'Before the Amshaspand Bahman, before the Amshaspand Ardibehesht, here lighted up . . . &c., I swear that I have nothing of what is thine, N. son of N., neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor clothes, nor any of the things created by Ormazd' (l. l. 96). Cf. above, § 46.

[3] He is a Mithra-drug, 'one who lies to Mithra.'

[4] In this world.

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V (21–26). On the excellence of purity and of the law that shows how to recover purity, when lost.

VI (27–38). On the defiling power of the Nasu being greater or less, according to the greater or less dignity of the being that dies.

VII (39–44). On the management of sacrificial implements defiled with Nasu.

VIII (45–62). On the treatment of a woman who has been delivered of a still-born child; and what is to be done with her clothes.

I a.

1. There dies a man in the depths of the vale: a bird takes flight from the top of the mountain down into the depths of the vale, and it feeds on the corpse of the dead man there: then, up it flies from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain: it flies to some one of the trees there, of the hard-wooded or the soft-wooded, and upon that tree it vomits and deposits dung.

2 (7). Now, lo! here is a man coming up from the depths of the vale to the top of the mountain; he comes to the tree whereon the bird is sitting; from that tree he intends to take wood for the fire. He fells the tree, he hews the tree, he splits it into logs, and then he lights it in the fire, the son of Ahura Mazda. What is the penalty that he shall pay[1]?

3 (11). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any Nasu that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

4 (12). 'For were there sin upon a man for any Nasu that might have been brought by dogs, by

[1] For defiling the fire by bringing dead matter into it (see Farg. VII, 25 seq.) contrarily to the rule, 'Put ye only proper and well-examined fuel (in the fire).' For the purification of unclean wood, see Farg. VII, 28 seq.

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birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon all this material world of mine would be only one Peshôtanu[1], bent on the destruction of righteousness, and whose soul will cry and wail[2]! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

I b.

5 (15). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Here is a man watering a corn-field. The water streams down the field; it streams again; it streams a third time; and the fourth time, a dog, a fox, or a wolf carries some Nasu into the bed of the stream: what is the penalty that the man shall pay[3]?

6 (19). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There is no sin upon a man for any Nasu that has been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies.

7 (20). 'For were there sin upon a man for any Nasu that might have been brought by dogs, by birds, by wolves, by winds, or by flies, how soon all this material world of mine would be only one Peshôtanu, bent on the destruction of righteousness, and whose soul will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth.'

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[1] 'People guilty of death' (Comm.) Cf. Yasna LIII, 9 b.

[2] After their death, 'When the soul, crying and beaten off, is driven far away from Paradise' (Comm.) This is imitated from the Gâthas (Yasna XLVI, 11 c; LI, 13 b; cf. Vd. XIII, 8–9).

[3] For defiling the earth and the water: 'If a man wants to irrigate a field, he must first look after the water-channel, whether there is dead matter in it or not..... If the water, unknown to him, comes upon a corpse, there is no sin upon him. If he has not looked after the rivulet and the stream, he is unclean' (Saddar 75).

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II a.

8 (23). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does water kill[1]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Water kills no man: Astô-vîdhôtu binds him, and, thus bound[2], Vayu[3] carries him off; and the flood takes him up[4], the flood takes him down[5], the flood throws him ashore; then birds feed upon him. When he goes away[6], it is by the will of Fate he goes.'

II b.

9 (29). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Does fire kill?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fire kills no man: Astô-vîdhôtu binds him, and, thus bound, Vayu carries him off; and the fire burns up life and limb. When he goes away, it is by the will of Fate he goes.'

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[1] Water and fire belong to the holy part of the world, and come from God: how then is it that they kill? 'Let a Gueber light a sacred fire for a hundred years, if he once fall into it, he shall be burnt.' Even the Mobeds, if we may trust Elisaeus, complained that the fire would burn them without regard for their piety, when to adore it they came too near (Vartan's War, p. 211 of the French translation by l'Abbé Garabed). The answer was that it is not the fire nor the water that kills, but the demon of Death and Fate. 'Nothing whatever that I created in the world, said Ormazd, does harm to man; it is the bad Nâi (read Vâi) that kills the man' (Gr. Rav. 124).

[2] 'Astî-vahât is the bad Vâi who seizes the life (of man): when his hand strokes him, it is lethargy; when he casts his shadow upon him, it is fever; when he looks in his eyes, he destroys life, and it is called Death' (Bund. XXVIII, 35). Cf. Farg. IV, 49; XIX, 29.

[3] 'The bad Vâi' (Comm.) Vâi (Vayu) being the Genius of Destiny, good or evil.

[4] To the surface. [5] To the bottom. [6] When he departs.

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III.

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the summer is past and the winter has come, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do[1]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In every house, in every borough, they shall raise three rooms for the dead[2].'

11 (37). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large shall be those rooms for the dead?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Large enough not to strike the skull of the man, if he[3] should stand erect, or his feet or his hands stretched out: such shall be, according to the law, the rooms for the dead.

12 (41). 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or for three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly[4], the plants to grow, the hidden floods[5] to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth[6].

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[1] In case a man dies during the snowy season, while it is difficult or impossible to take the corpse to the Dakhma, which usually stands far from inhabited places. The same case is treated again in Farg. VIII, 4 seq.

[2] One for men, another for women, a third for children. As not every house is considerable or rich enough to have these three accommodations, there will be a common Zâd-marg for the village. The Zâd-marg is a small mud house where the corpse is laid, to lie there till it can be taken to the Dakhma (Anquetil, Zend-Avesta II, 583). The Zâd-marg is still used in Persia, and in the Gugarati provinces (where it is called Nasâ-khâna, 'house for corpses'). In Bombay they use the simpler and more economical method given in Farg. VIII, 8.

[3] 'Being in life' (Comm.)

[4] To come back.

[5] They were hidden under the earth.

[6] 'Until the winter is past' (Comm.)

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13 (44). 'And as soon as the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall lay down the dead (on the Dakhma), his eyes towards the sun.

14 (46). 'If the worshippers of Mazda have not, within a year, laid down the dead (on the Dakhma), his eyes towards the sun, thou shalt prescribe for that trespass the same penalty as for the murder of one of the faithful[1]; until the corpse has been rained on, until the Dakhma has been rained on, until the unclean remains have been rained on, until the birds have eaten up the corpse.'

IV.

15 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Is it true that thou, Ahura Mazda, seizest the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha[2] with the wind and the clouds?

16 (51). That thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the corpses[3]? that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the Dakhmas? that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the unclean remains? that thou, Ahura Mazda, takest them down to the bones? and that then thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back unseen? that thou, Ahura Mazda, makest them flow back to the sea Pûitika[4]?

[1] See Farg. III, 41, note; cf. below, §§ 21–26.

[2] Vouru-kasha or Frâkh-kart, the Ocean, wherefrom all waters come and whereto they return (Farg. XXI, 4).

[3] Zoroaster wonders that Ormazd fears so little to infringe his own laws by defiling waters with the dead. In a Ravâet, he asks him bluntly why he forbids men to take corpses to the water, while he himself sends rain to the Dakhmas (Gr. Rav. 125).

[4] The sea where waters are purified before going back to their

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17 (53). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is even so as thou hast said, O righteous Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, seize the waters from the sea Vouru-kasha with the wind and the clouds.

18 (55). 'I, Ahura Mazda, take them to the corpses; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the Dakhmas; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the unclean remains; I, Ahura Mazda, take them down to the bones; then I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back unseen; I, Ahura Mazda, make them flow back to the sea Pûitika.

19 (56). 'The waters stand there boiling, boiling up in the heart of the sea Pûitika, and, when cleansed there, they run back again from the sea Pûitika to the sea Vouru-kasha, towards the well-watered tree[1], whereon grow the seeds of my plants of every kind by hundreds, by thousands, by hundreds of thousands.

20 (60). 'Those plants, I, Ahura Mazda, rain down upon the earth[1], to bring food to the faithful, and fodder to the beneficent cow; to bring food to

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gathering place, the sea Vouru-kasha (see § 19). 'All the thickness, salt, and impurity of the sea Pûtîk wishes to go to the Frâkh-kart sea; but a mighty high wind, blowing from the Var Satvês, drives it away: whatever is clean and movable passes to the Frâkh-kart sea, and the rest (the unclean element) flows back to the Pûtîk' (Bund. XIII, 10).

[1] The tree of all seeds (Harvisptokhm), which grows in the middle of the sea Vouru-kasha; the seeds of all plants are on it. There is a godlike bird, the Sinamru, sitting on that tree; whenever he flies off the tree, there grow out of it a thousand boughs; whenever he alights on it, there break a thousand boughs, the seeds of which are scattered about, and rained down on the earth by Tistar (Tistrya), the rain-god (Yt. XII, 17; Minokhired LXII, 37 seq.; Bundahis XXVII; cf. Farg. XX, 4 seq.)

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my people that they may live on it, and fodder to the beneficent cow.'

V.

21 (63). 'This[1] is the best, this is the fairest of all things, even as thou hast said, O pure [Zarathustra]!'

With these words the holy Ahura Mazda rejoiced the holy Zarathustra[2]: 'Purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good[3], that purity, O Zarathustra, that is in the Religion of Mazda for him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds[4].'

22 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! This Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra[5], by what greatness, goodness, and fairness is it great, good, and fair above all other utterances?

23 (69). Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much above all other floods as is the sea Vouru-kasha, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.

24 (71). 'As much as a great stream flows swifter than a slender rivulet, so much above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.

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[1] The cleansing, the purification.

[2] 'When Zoroaster saw that man is able to escape sin by performing good works, he was filled with joy' (Comm.)

[3] Quotation from the Gâthas (Yasna XLVIII, 5 c).

[4] That is to say, 'Who performs the rites of cleansing according to the prescriptions of the law.'

[5] The Law (Dâtem), that part of the religious system of

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'As high as the great tree[1] stands above the small plants it overshadows, so high above all other utterances in greatness, goodness, and fairness is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.

25 (73). 'As high as heaven is above the earth that it compasses around, so high above all other utterances is this Law, this fiend-destroying Law of Mazda.

'[Therefore], he will apply to the Ratu[2], he will apply to the Sraoshâ-varez[3]; whether for a draona-service[4] that should have been undertaken[5] and has not been undertaken[6]; or for a draona that should have been offered up and has not been offered up; or for a draona that should have been entrusted and has not been entrusted[7].

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which the Vendîdâd is the specimen, and the object of which is the purification of man.

[1] 'The royal cypress above small herbs' (Comm.)

[2] 'To take the rule' (Comm.), which probably means, 'to know what sort of penance he must undergo;' as, when a man has sinned with the tongue or with the hand, the Dastur (or Ratu) must prescribe for him the expiation that the sin requires. The Ratu is the chief priest, the spiritual head of the community.

[3] 'To weep for his crime' (Comm.), which may mean, 'to recite to him the Patet, or, to receive at his hand the proper number of stripes.' The Sraoshâ-varez is the priest that superintends the sacrifice. He receives the confession of the guilty man and very likely wields the Sraoshô-*k*arana.

[4] The Srôsh-darûn, a service in honour of any of the angels, or of deceased persons, in which small cakes, called draona, are consecrated in their names, and then given to those present to eat.

[5] When it ought not to be.

[6] When it ought to be.

[7] The meaning of the sentence is not certain. The Commentary has: 'Whether he has thought what he ought not to have thought, or has not thought what he ought to have thought; whether he has said what he ought not to have said, or has not

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26 (81). 'The Ratu has power to remit him one-third of his penalty[1]: if he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever[2].'

VI.

27 (82). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on the same carpet, on the same pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Drug Nasu[3] envelope with corruption, infection, and pollution?

28 (86). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If the dead one be a priest, the Drug Nasu rushes forth[4], O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the eleventh and defiles the ten[5].

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said what he ought to have said; whether he has done what he ought not to have done, or has not done what he ought to have done.'

[1] When the Ratu remits one-third of the sin, God remits the whole of it (Saddar 29).

[2] Cf. Farg. III, 41.

[3] Nasu (νέκυς) designates both the corpse and the corpse-demon (the Drug that produces the corruption and infection of the dead body).

[4] In opposition to the case when the dead one is an Ashemaogha (§ 35), as no Nasu issues then.

[5] Literally, 'If she goes as far as the eleventh, she defiles the tenth.' That is to say, she stops at the eleventh and defiles the next ten. In the Ravâets, the Avesta distinctions are lost, and the defiling power of the Nasu is the same, whatever may have been the rank of the dead: 'If there be a number of people sleeping in the same place, and if one of them happen to die, all those around him, in any direction, as far as the eleventh, become unclean if they have been in contact with one another' (Gr. Rav. 470).

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'If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the tenth and defiles the nine.

'If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the ninth and defiles the eight.

29 (92). 'If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the eighth and defiles the seven.

'If it be a house-dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the seventh and defiles the six.

30 (96). 'If it be a Vohunazga dog[1], the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the sixth and defiles the five.

'If it be a Tauruna dog[2], the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the fifth and defiles the four.

31 (100). 'If it be a porcupine dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the fourth and defiles the three.

'If it be a *Gazu* dog[3], the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the third and defiles the two.

32 (104). 'If it be an Aiwizu dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the second and defiles the next.

'If it be a Vîzu dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the next, she defiles the next.'

[1] A dog without a master (see Farg. XIII, 19).

[2] A hunting-dog.

[3] This name and the two following, Aiwizu and Vîzu, are left untranslated in the Pahlavi translation.

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33 (108). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If it be a weasel[1], how many of the creatures of the good spirit does it directly defile, how many does it indirectly defile?

34 (110). Ahura Mazda answered: 'A weasel does neither directly nor indirectly defile any of the creatures of the good spirit, but him who smites and kills it; to him the uncleanness clings for ever and ever[2].'

35 (113)[3]. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the dead one be such a wicked, two-footed ruffian, as an ungodly Ashemaogha[4], how many of the creatures of the good spirit does he directly defile, how many does he indirectly defile?

36 (115). Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year[5]. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! such a wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the good spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

37 (119). 'Whilst alive he smites the water[6]; whilst alive he blows out the fire[7]; whilst alive he

[1] A weasel. The weasel is one of the creatures of Ahura, for 'it has been created to fight against the serpent garza and the other khrafstras that live in holes' (Bund. XIX, 27).

[2] Not that the unclean one cannot be cleansed, but that his uncleanness does not pass from him to another.

[3] §§ 35–38; cf. Farg. XII, 21–24.

[4] Ashemaogha, a heretic.

[5] The frog is a creature of Ahriman's, and one of the most hateful. Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

[6] By defiling it (a capital crime; see Farg. VII, 25).

[7] He extinguishes the Bahrâm fire (a capital crime; cf. Farg. VII, 25).

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carries off the cow[1]; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body[2]; not so will he do when dead.

38 (120). 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! such a wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha robs the faithful man of the full possession of his food, of his clothing, of his wood, of his bed, of his vessels[3]; not so will he do when dead[4].'

VII.

39 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When into our houses here below we have brought the fire, the Baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar[5], O holy Ahura Mazda! if it come to pass that either a dog or a man dies there, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

40 (125). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Out of the house, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall they take the fire, the Baresma, the cups, the Haoma, and the mortar; they shall take the dead one out to the proper place[6] whereto, according to the law, corpses must be brought, to be devoured there.'

41 (128). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When shall they bring back the fire into the house wherein the man has died?

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[1] As a cattle-lifter. [2] As an assassin.

[3] By defiling them, he deprives the faithful of their use.

[4] 'When a wicked man dies, the Drug who was with him during his lifetime, seizes him and drags him down to Ahriman; therefore, his body, as the Drug is no longer with it, becomes pure. On the contrary, when it is a righteous man that dies, the Amshâspands take his soul to Ormazd and the Drug settles in the house of the body and makes it impure' (Gujastak Abalish).

[5] In order to perform a sacrifice. [6] The Dakhma.

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42 (129). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall wait for nine nights in winter, for a month in summer[1], and then they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died.'

43 (131). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! And if they shall bring back the fire to the house wherein the man has died, within the nine nights, or within the month, what penalty shall they pay?

44 (134). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

VIII.

45 (135)[2]. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone[3], she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

46 (139). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful;'—

47 (143). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from

[1] Corruption being worse in summer.

[2] §§ 45–54=Farg. VII, 60–69.

[3] The pregnancy, without lasting more than nine calendar months (9 times 30 days), generally extends along ten months on the calendar (for instance from January 10 to October 10).

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the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

48 (144). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful[1];—

49 (145). 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure[2], and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

50 (147). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

51 (148). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Gômêz[3] mixed with ashes, three draughts of it, or six, or nine, to send down the Dakhma within her womb[4].

52 (151). 'Afterwards she may drink boiling[5] milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap[6]; she may take cooked milk without

[1] The carrier alone is kept thirty feet from the faithful (Farg. III, 18), as he is cut off from the community: his food is not brought to him, he has a store prepared for him. The woman, when armêšt, is only temporarily isolated; she stays in the house and her food is brought to her all but from hand to hand (Farg. XVI, 6).

[2] The place for the man or woman in state of uncleanness, or Armêšt-gâh.

[3] Urine of the ox: the so-called Nîrang-dîn; cf. Farg. VIII, 37; XIX, 21. 'Three cups, or six, or nine, according to her strength' (Asp.)

[4] Her womb is a Dakhma, as it contained a dead body.—These nine draughts of gômêz mixed with ashes are like an interior Barashnûm, as the Barashnûm consists of nine successive purifications with gômêz and dust.

[5] Doubtful.

[6] Doubtful.

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water, meal without water, and wine without water[1].'

53 (154). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine?

54 (155). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three nights long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes[2], and thus shall she be clean.'

55 (157). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing?

56 (158). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Nine nights long shall she remain so: nine nights long, after the three nights have gone, shall she sit confined, and live separated from the rest of the worshippers of Mazda, as to her seat, her food, and her clothing. Then, when the nine nights have gone, she shall wash her body, and cleanse her clothes with gômêz and water[3].'

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[1] 'The water would be defiled;' cf. Farg. VII, 70 seq.

[2] She shall perform the nine nights' Barashnûm, for the details of which see Farg. IX. That Barashnûm is taken forty days after the delivery.

[3] 'If a woman brings forth a still-born child, after a pregnancy of one month to ten months, the first food she shall take is nîrang (=gômêz) . . . fire and ashes; and she is not allowed until the fourth day to take water or salt, or any food that is cooked with water or salt: on the fourth day they give her nîrang, that she may cleanse herself and wash her clothes with it, and she is not

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57 (160)[1]. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnatar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez[2], or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman[3]?

58 (162). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnatar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

59 (164). 'But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work[4], and who must sit in the place of infirmity[5], those clothes shall serve for their

allowed to wash herself and her clothes with water until the forty-first day' (Gr. Rav. 568).

[1] §§ 57–62=Farg. VII, 17–22.

[2] These are the names of the different priests who were engaged in the sacrifices. The Hâvanan strains the Haoma; the Âtare-vakhsha kindles the fire; the Frabaretar brings to the Zaotar all that he needs; the Âbered brings the water; the Âsnatar washes and strains the Haoma; the Rathwiskar mixes the Haoma and the milk; the Zaotar chants the hymns and says the prayers; the Sraoshâ-varez superintends the sacrifice. Nowadays there are only two priests, the Zaotar (Zûtî) and the Rathwiskar (Raspî), the latter performing all the accessory services formerly performed by several priests. Cf. Nîrangistân, §§ 71 sq.

[3] In short, by any of the faithful, when in state of purity.

[4] An Armêst; literally, 'an infirm person,' that is to say, one who is unclean, during the time of his uncleanness (Farg. IX, 33 seq.), when all work is forbidden to him.

[5] The Armêst-gâh, the place of seclusion of the Armêst.

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coverings and for their sheets[1], until they can withdraw their hands for prayer[2].

60 (168). 'Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an Asperena's[3] weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

61 (171). 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body[4], even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in Paradise.

62 (174). 'He makes himself a viaticum unto the world of the wicked, into that world[5], made of

[1] The clothing defiled by the dead can only serve for Dashtân women, even after it has been washed and exposed for six months to the light of the sun and of the moon (Saddar 91; cf. Farg. VII, 10 seq.)

[2] Until they are clean. The unclean must have their hands wrapped in an old piece of linen, lest they should touch and defile anything clean.

[3] See Farg. IV, 48, note 4.

[4] Cf. Farg. VIII, 23 seq. It appears from those passages that the dead must lie on the mountain naked, or 'clothed only with the light of heaven' (Farg. VI, 51). The modern custom is to clothe them with old clothing (Dadabhai Naoroji, Manners and Customs of the Parsis, p. 15). 'When a man dies and receives the order (to depart), the older the shroud they make for him, the better. It must be old, worn out, but well washed: they must not lay anything new on the dead. For it is said in the Zend Vendîdâd, If they put on the dead even so much as a thread from the distaff more than is necessary, every thread shall become in the other world a black snake clinging to the heart of him who made that shroud, and even the dead shall rise against him and seize him by the skirt, and say, That shroud which thou madest for me has become food for worms and vermin' (Saddar 12). After the fourth day, when the soul is in heaven, then rich garments are offered up to it, which it will wear in its celestial life (Saddar 87).

[5] 'Where darkness can be seized with the hand' (Comm.; cf. Aogemaidê 28); something more than the 'visible darkness.'

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darkness, the offspring of darkness[1], which is Darkness' self. To that world, to the world of Hell, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own religion, O sinners[2]!'

FARGARD VI.

I (1–9). How long the earth remains unclean, when defiled by the dead.

II (10–25). Penalties for defiling the ground with dead matter.

III (26–41). Purification of the different sorts of water, when defiled by the dead.

IV (42–43). Purification of the Haoma.

V (44–51). The place for corpses; the Dakhmas.

I.

1. How long shall the piece of ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A year long shall the piece of ground lie fallow whereon dogs or men have died, O holy Zarathustra!

2 (3). 'A year long shall no worshipper of Mazda sow or water that piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died; he may sow as he likes the rest of the ground; he may water it as he likes[3].

3 (5). 'If within the year they shall sow or water the piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died, they are guilty of the sin of "burying the dead"

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[1] The Commentary has, 'the place of those who impregnate darkness, for the Drug who conceives seed from the sinner comes from that place' (cf. Farg. XVIII, 30 seq.)

[2] Quotation from the Gâthas (Yasna XXXI, 20).

[3] Cf. Farg. VII, 45 seq.

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towards the water, towards the earth, and towards the plants[1].'

4 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda shall sow or water, within the year, the piece of ground whereon dogs or men have died, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

5 (9). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshô-tanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[2].'

6 (10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to till that piece of ground again[3], to water it, to sow it, and to plough it, what shall they do?

7 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall look on the ground for any bones, hair, dung, urine, or blood that may be there.'

8 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they shall not look on the ground for any bones, hair, dung, urine, or blood that may be there, what is the penalty that they shall pay?

9 (15). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They are Peshô-tanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

II.

10 (16). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground

[1] 'To the water which they pour out, to the earth which they plough, to the plants which they sow' (Comm.)

[2] 'If they plough and sow it, one tanâfûhr (see Introd. V, 19); if they pour water on it, one tanâfûhr; if they plough, sow, and water it, two tanâfûhrs' (Comm.)

[3] Even when a year's space is past, the ground is not free ipso facto.

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a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the little finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

11 (18). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

12 (20). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the fore-finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

13 (24). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (25). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as the top joint of the middle finger, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

15 (29). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 (30). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a finger or as a rib, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

17 (34). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

18 (35). O Maker of the material world, thou

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Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as two fingers or as two ribs, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

19 (39). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshô-tanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

20 (40). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as an arm-bone or as a thigh-bone, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

21 (44). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

22 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground a bone of a dead dog, or of a dead man, as large as a man's skull, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

23 (49). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 (50). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw on the ground the whole body of a dead dog, or of a dead man, and if grease or marrow flow from it on to the ground, what penalty shall he pay?

25 (53). Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

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III.

26 (54). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse in a stream of running water, what shall he do?

27 (56). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Taking off his shoes, putting off his clothes, while the others wait[1], O Zarathustra! he shall enter the river, and take the dead out of the water; he shall go down into the water ankle-deep, knee-deep, waist-deep, or a man's full depth, till he can reach the dead body[2].'

28 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If, however, the body be already falling to pieces and rotting, what shall the worshipper of Mazda do?

29 (63). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall draw out of the water as much of the corpse as he can grasp with both hands, and he shall lay it down on the dry ground; no sin attaches to him for any bone, hair, grease, dung, urine, or blood that may drop back into the water.'

30 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a pond does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

31 (66). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six steps on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has

[1] Ready to help him in case of need.

[2] 'If he is able to draw out the corpse and does so, it is a pious deed worth a tanâfûhr (that is, one by which a tanâfûhr sin can be cancelled); if he is able to draw it out and does not do so, it is a tanâfûhr sin. Gûgôsasp says, It is a margarzân sin (a capital crime)' (Comm.)

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not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the pond, and lay it down on the dry ground.

32 (69). 'And of the water they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able or not; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

33 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water in a well does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

34 (73). Ahura Mazda answered: 'As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the well, and lay it down on the dry ground.

35 (73). 'And of the water in the well they shall draw off the half, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth part, according as they are able or not; and after the corpse has been taken out and the water has been drawn off, the rest of the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

36 (74). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of a sheet of snow or hail does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

37 (75). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps[1]

[1] Nine feet on the four sides.

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on each of the four sides. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall that water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.

38 (78). 'After the corpse has been taken out, and the snow or the hail has melted, the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

39 (79). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of the water of a running stream does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

40 (80). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three steps down the stream, nine steps up the stream, six steps across. As long as the corpse has not been taken out of the water, so long shall the water be unclean and unfit to drink. They shall, therefore, take the corpse out of the water, and lay it down on the dry ground.

41 (83). 'After the corpse has been taken out and the stream has flowed three times[1], the water is clean, and both cattle and men may drink of it at their pleasure, as before.'

IV.

42 (84). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the Haoma that has been touched with Nasu from a dead dog, or from a dead man, be made clean again?

43 (85). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra! If it has been prepared for the

[1] Three times the measure up the stream (that is nine feet).

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sacrifice [1], there is to it no corruption, no death, no touch of any Nasu [2]. If it has not been prepared for the sacrifice, [the stem] is defiled the length of four fingers [3]: it [4] shall be laid down on [5] the ground, in the middle of the house, for a year long. When the year is passed, the faithful may drink of its juice at their pleasure, as before.'

V.

44 (92). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bodies of the dead [6], O Ahura Mazda?

45 (93). Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the highest summits [7], where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, O holy Zarathustra!

46 (95). 'There shall the worshippers of Mazda fasten the corpse, by the feet and by the hair, with brass, stones, or clay, lest the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating birds shall go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees.

47 (98). 'If they shall not fasten the corpse, so that the corpse-eating dogs and the corpse-eating

[1] Pounded and strained.

[2] Because the Haoma is the plant of life; when strained for the sacrifice, it is the king of healing plants (Bund. XXIV); the dead shall become immortal by tasting of the white Haoma (ib. XXXI).

[3] Four fingers from the point touched by the Nasu. That part of the stem shall be cut off (Frâmjî): the rest can be made clean.

[4] What is left of the stem.

[5] Perhaps: in the ground (it shall be buried).

[6] In places where there are no Dakhmas; for instance, in the country.

[7] 'On the top of a mountain' (Comm.) Cf. VIII, 10.

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birds may go and carry the bones to the water and to the trees, what is the penalty that they shall pay?'

48 (100). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall be Peshôtanus: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

49 (101). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bones[1] of the dead, O Ahura Mazda?

50 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall make a receptacle[2] out of the reach of the dog, of the fox, and of the wolf, and wherein rain-water cannot stay.

51 (105). 'They shall make it, if they can afford it, with stones, plaster, or earth[3]; if they cannot afford it, they shall lay down the dead man on the ground, on his carpet and his pillow, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun[4].'

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[1] When the flesh has been stripped off the bones, they may be collected in a stone ossuary. See following note.

[2] 'When the corpse-eating birds have eaten the fat, that fat which, when it is not possible to eat it, becomes rotten, offensive, and fraught with noxious creatures, then men shall properly convey the bones away to the bone-receptacle (astôdân), which one is to elevate so from the ground, and over which a roof so stands, that in no way does the rain fall upon the dead matter, nor the water reach up to it therein, nor are the dog and fox able to go to it, and for the sake of light coming to it a hole is made therein' (Dâdistân XVIII, 3; tr. West).

[3] Such stone ossuaries have been found at Bushir, by Mr. Malcolm; earth ossuaries, found at Susa, were brought to the Louvre by M. Dieulafoy.

[4] The dead must see the sun: that is why the astôdân has holes for letting the light in (see note 2 above).

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FARGARD VII.

I (1–5). How long after death the Druǵ Nasu takes possession of the corpse.

II (6–9 = V, 27–30). How far the defiling power of the Druǵ Nasu extends.

III (10–22). Cleansing of clothes defiled by the dead.

IV (23–24). Eating of Nasu an abomination.

V (25–27). Bringing Nasu to fire or water an abomination.

VI (28–35). Cleansing of wood and corn defiled by the dead.

VII a (36–40). Physicians; their probation.

VII b (41–44). Their fees.

VIII (45–59). Purification of the earth, of the Dakhmas. The Dakhmas and the Daêvas.

IX (60–72; 66–69 = V, 45–54). Treatment of a woman who has brought forth a still-born child.

X (73–75). Cleansing of vessels defiled by the dead.

XI (76). Cleansing of the cow.

XII (78). Unclean libations.

This chapter would offer tolerable unity, but for a digression on medicine, which would be better placed as an introduction to the last three chapters. Sections II and IX, parts of which have already been found in Fargard V, are more suitably placed here. This chapter, as a whole, deals with the action of the Druǵ Nasu, from the moment she takes hold of the corpse, and shows how and when the several objects she has defiled become clean, namely, clothes, wood, corn, earth, women, vessels, and cows.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When a man dies, at what moment does the Druǵ Nasu rush upon him?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Directly after death, as soon as the soul has left the body, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Druǵ Nasu comes and rushes upon him, from the regions of the north[1], in

[1] Hell lies in the north; cf. II, 10 n.; III, 7 n.; XIX, 1 Yt. XXII, 25; Bundahiš XV, 19.

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the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras [1].

[3. 'On him she stays until the dog has seen the corpse [2] or eaten it up, or until the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it [3]. When the dog has seen it or eaten it up, or when the flesh-eating birds have taken flight towards it, then the Druǵ Nasu rushes away to the regions of the north in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.']

4 (5). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If the man has been killed by a dog, or by a wolf, or by witchcraft, or by the artifices of hatred [4], or by falling down a precipice, or by the law [5], or by calumny [6], or by the noose [7], how long after death does the Druǵ Nasu come and rush upon the dead?

5 (6). Ahura Mazda answered: 'At the next watch after death [8], the Druǵ Nasu comes and

[1] Khrafstra is a general denomination for noxious animals.

[2] Until the Sag-dîd has been performed (see VIII, 16 seq.)

[3] The Sag-dîd may be performed by birds of prey as well as by dogs. The dog smites the Nasu when it brings its muzzle near to the dead, the bird (mountain hawk, sparrow (?), or eagle) when its shadow passes over the body (Comm. ad § 2; cf. § 29). § 3 is from the Vendîdâd Sâda.

[4] 'By poison' (Comm.)

[5] Literally, 'by men;' that is to say, put to death by the community according to law (Comm.)

[6] If he has been condemned unjustly.

[7] If he has strangled himself.

[8] The day is divided into five watches or ratu. If the man dies a natural death, the Druǵ comes directly; if the death be violent and unlooked for, the Druǵ comes later (as the corruption does not set in so quickly).

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rushes upon the dead, from the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.'

II[1].

6 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be a number of men resting in the same place, on the same carpet, on the same pillows, be there two men near one another, or five, or fifty, or a hundred, close by one another; and of those people one happens to die; how many of them does the Drug Nasu envelope with corruption, infection, and pollution?

7 (11). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If the dead one be a priest, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the eleventh and defiles the ten.

'If the dead one be a warrior, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the tenth and defiles the nine.

'If the dead one be a husbandman, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the ninth and defiles the eight.

8 (17). 'If it be a shepherd's dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the eighth and defiles the seven.

'If it be a house dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the seventh and defiles the six.

9 (21). 'If it be a Vohunazga dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the sixth and defiles the five.

'If it be a Tauruna dog, the Drug Nasu rushes forth, O Spitama Zarathustra! she goes as far as the fifth and defiles the four[2].'

[1] §§ 6–9 = Farg. V, 27–30.

[2] This enumeration is less complete than that in the fifth Fargard, as it comprises only the first four sorts of dogs; the rest is to be supplied as in Farg. V, 31–38.

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. . . 'Those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets[1].' . . .

III.

10 (26). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What part of his bedding[2] and pillow does the Drug Nasu defile with corruption, infection, and pollution?

11 (27). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The Drug Nasu defiles with corruption, infection, and pollution the upper sheet and the inner garment[3].'

12 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can that garment be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! that has been touched by the carcase of a dog or the corpse of a man?

13 (29). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If there be on the garment seed, or blood, or dirt, or vomit, the worshippers of Mazda shall rend it to pieces, and bury it under the ground[4].

14 (33). 'But if there be no seed [on the garment], nor blood, nor dirt, nor vomit, then the worshippers of Mazda shall wash it with gômêz.

15 (35). 'If it be leather, they shall wash it with gômêz three times, they shall rub it with earth three

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[1] This phrase, which forms part of § 19, is wrongly inserted here.

[2] The bedding on which he has died.

[3] The upper sheet of the bed and the inner garment of the body, that is to say, only those clothes which have been in direct contact with the dead.

[4] According to the Commentary only that part which has been defiled is rent off; the rest may still be used.

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times, they shall wash it with water three times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for three months at the window of the house.

'If it be woven cloth, they shall wash it with gômêz six times[1], they shall rub it with earth six times, they shall wash it with water six times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for six months at the window of the house.

16 (37). 'The spring named Ardvî Sûra, O Spitama Zarathustra! that spring of mine, purifies the seed of males, the womb of females, the milk of females[2].'

17[3] (41). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can those clothes, when once washed and cleansed, ever be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman?

18 (43). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Never can those clothes, even when washed and cleansed, be used either by a Zaotar, or by a Hâvanan, or by an Âtare-vakhsha, or by a Frabaretar, or by an Âbered, or by an Âsnâtar, or by a Rathwiskar, or by a Sraoshâ-varez, or by any priest, warrior, or husbandman.

19 (45). 'But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work, and who must sit in the place of infirmity, those clothes shall serve for their coverings and for their sheets, until they can withdraw their hands for prayer.

20 (49). 'Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so

[1] See Farg. XIX, 21.

[2] This clause is a quotation from Yasna LXV, 5, intended to illustrate the cleansing power of water. Ardvî Sûra is the goddess of the waters. Cf. Farg. XXI, 6 notes.

[3] §§ 17–22 = Farg. V, 57–62.

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much as an Asperena's weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning.

21 (52). 'Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body, even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in Paradise.

22 (55). 'He makes himself a viaticum unto the world of the wicked, into that world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness, which is Darkness' self. To that world, to the world of Hell, you are delivered by your own doings, by your own religion, O sinners!'

IV.

23 (59). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again who has eaten of the carcase of a dog or of the corpse of a man[1]?

24 (60). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! His burrow[2] shall be dug out, his heart shall be torn out, his bright eyes shall be put out; the Drug Nasu falls upon him, takes hold of him even to the end of the nails, and he is unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever[3].'

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[1] The carcase-eater lodges the Nasu in himself; he becomes a Nasu, and therefore must be destroyed; cf. below, § 76 seq.

[2] His house, as he is assimilated to a devouring Khrafstra; cf. Farg. III, 7.

[3] Till the resurrection. 'It is prescribed in the Vendîdâd that if a man shall eat of a carcase, his house and family shall be destroyed, his heart shall be torn out of his body, his eyes shall be put out, and his soul shall abide in hell till the resurrection' (Saddar 71). 'He who eats of a carcase with sinful intent is both unclean and margarzân; Barashnûm and Nîrang are of no avail for him, he must die. If there has been no sinful intent, he may wash himself; one may give him the ashes and the gômêz (Comm.); he is unclean, he is not margarzân' (Old Rav. 115 b).

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V.

25 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can he be clean again, O holy Ahura Mazda! who has brought a corpse with filth into the waters, or unto the fire, and made either unclean?

26 (66). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He cannot, O holy Zarathustra! Those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that most increase spiders and locusts[1]; those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that most increase the grass-destroying drought[2].

27 (69). 'Those wicked ones it is, those Nasu-cutters, that increase most the power of the winter[2], produced by the fiends, the cattle-killing, thick-snowing, overflowing, the piercing, fierce, mischievous winter[3]. Upon them comes and rushes the Druǵ Nasu, she takes hold of them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean, thenceforth, for ever and ever[4].'

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[1] 'It is said in the Avesta that when there are many gnats and locusts it is owing to corpses having been brought to water and to fire' (Saddar 72).

[2] § 26 refers chiefly to the damage produced by the defilement of the waters, and § 27 to that produced by the defilement of the fire.

[3] 'In the same way (by the bringing of corpses to water and to fire), winter grows colder, and summer grows warmer' (Saddar 72).

[4] 'Whoever shall do that deed, shall pay for it in this world and in the next; they shall flay his body in the presence of the assembly, they shall tear him limb from limb, and his corpse shall be thrown away to dogs and ravens, . . . and when his soul comes to the other world, he shall suffer tortures from the Dêvs. If he has not made his Patet, his soul shall remain in hell till the day of resurrection' (Gr. Rav. p. 123).

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VI.

28 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the wood be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto Nasu has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

29 (73). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled[1] by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds[2], they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the wood on a Vîtasti[3] all around, if the wood be dry; on a Frârâthni[4] all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean[5].

30 (78). 'But if the Nasu has already been expelled[6] by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the wood on a Frârâthni all around, if the wood be dry; on a Frâbâzu[7] all around, if it

[1] That is to say, if the Sag-dîd has not yet been performed. Read: 'If the Nasu has been expelled . . .' (that is to say, if the Sag-dîd has been performed). See note 6.

[2] See above, p. 77, n. 3.

[3] Twelve fingers; a span.

[4] The Frârâthni is, as it seems, as much as a forearm.

[5] 'After a year,' according to the Commentary.

[6] Read: 'But if the Nasu has not yet been expelled.' It appears from the similar passages (VIII, 35, 36, and 98, 99) and from the general principles of uncleanness that the words 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled,' in § 29, have been misplaced there from § 30, and that the corresponding words in § 30 belong to § 29; because uncleanness spreads less far, when the Sag-dîd has taken place.

[7] A measure of unknown extent; 'an arm's length,' it would seem.

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be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

31 (81). 'Thus much of the wood around the dead shall they lay down, apart on the ground, according as the wood is dry or wet; as it is hard or soft; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

32 (83). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the corn or the fodder be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! whereunto Nasu has been brought from a dead dog, or from a dead man?

33 (84). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled[1] by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the corn on a Frârâthni all around, if the corn be dry; on a Frâbâzu all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

34 (89). 'But if the Nasu has already been expelled[2] by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, they shall lay down, apart on the ground, all the corn on a Frâbâzu all around, if the corn be dry; on a Vîbâzu[3] all around, if it be wet; then they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.

35 (92). 'Thus much of the corn around the dead

[1] Read: 'If the Nasu has already been expelled . . .' See § 29 note.

[2] Read: 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled . . .' See § 30 note.

[3] A measure of unknown extent; 'an ell,' it would seem.

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shall they lay down, apart on the ground, according as the corn is dry or wet; as it is sown or not sown; as it is reaped or not reaped; [as it is beaten or not beaten][1]; as it is winnowed or not winnowed[2]; [as it is ground or not ground][2]; as it is kneaded [or not kneaded][3]; they shall sprinkle it once over with water, and it shall be clean.'

VII a.

36 (94). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a worshipper of Mazda want to practise the art of healing, on whom shall he first prove his skill? on worshippers of Mazda or on worshippers of the Daêvas[4]?

37 (96). Ahura Mazda answered: 'On worshippers of the Daêvas shall he first prove himself, rather than on worshippers of Mazda. If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he die; if he treat with the knife for the third time a worshipper of the Daêvas and he die, he is unfit for ever and ever.

38 (99). 'Let him therefore never attend any worshipper of Mazda; let him never treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, nor wound him with the knife. If he shall ever attend any worshipper of Mazda, if he shall ever treat with the knife any worshipper of Mazda, and wound him with the knife,

[1] From the Vendîdâd Sâda. [2] Doubtful.

[3] This is supplied, as it seems to be required by the context and by the Pahlavi translation.

[4] On Zoroastrians or on idolaters (or, what is tantamount, on Iranians or on non-Iranians).

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he shall pay for his wound the penalty for wilful murder[1].

39 (102). 'If he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if he treat with the knife a second worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; if for the third time he treat with the knife a worshipper of the Daêvas and he recover; then he is fit for ever and ever[2].

40 (104). 'He may henceforth at his will attend worshippers of Mazda; he may at his will treat with the knife worshippers of Mazda, and heal them with the knife.

VII b.

41 (105). 'A healer shall heal a priest for a blessing of the just[3]; he shall heal the master of a house for the value of an ox of low value; he shall heal the lord of a borough[4] for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal the lord of a town for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal the lord of a province for the value of a chariot and four[5].

42 (110). 'He shall heal the wife of the master of a house for the value of a she-ass; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a borough for the value of

[1] For baodhô-varsta, literally, 'done with full conscience.'

[2] 'Some say, One who has been qualified may become disqualified; one who has been disqualified shall never become qualified' (Comm. ad § 43).

[3] The priest will say to him: Be holy! (that is to say, be one of the blest!) 'Thus he will become holy (i.e. he will go to Paradise); there is no equivalent in money. Some say, It is given when the priest has not 3000 stîrs' (Comm.)

[4] A group of several houses; Aspendiârji and Anquetil say, 'a street.'

[5] 'A value of seventy stîrs' (Comm.)

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a cow; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a town for the value of a mare; he shall heal the wife of the lord of a province for the value of a she-camel.

43 (114). 'He shall heal the heir of a great house for the value of an ox of high value; he shall heal an ox of high value for the value of an ox of average value; he shall heal an ox of average value for the value of an ox of low value; he shall heal an ox of low value for the value of a sheep; he shall heal a sheep for the value of a piece of meat [1].

44 (118). 'If several healers offer themselves together, O Spitama Zarathustra! namely, one who heals with the knife, one who heals with herbs, and one who heals with the Holy Word [2], let one apply to the healing by the Holy Word: for this one is the best-healing of all healers who heals with the Holy Word; he will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful [3].'

VIII.

45 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on the ground, clothed with the light of heaven and beholding the sun, is the ground clean again [4]?

[1] Cf. the tariff of fees for the cleanser, Farg. IX, 37 seq.

[2] 'By spells' (Comm.; cf. Odyssea XIX, 457). This classification was not unknown to Asclepios: he relieved the sick 'now with caressing spells, now with soothing drink or balsam, now with the knife' (Pindaros, Pyth. III, 51).

[3] Cf. Yt. III, 6. The treatment by the Holy Word seems not to consist only in the recitation of spells, but the spells must be accompanied by the ceremony of the Barashnûm (see Farg. XXII).

[4] Restored to the purity of its nature, and fit to till; as it remains Nasu till that time.

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46 (123). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain on the ground for a year, clothed with the light of heaven, and beholding the sun, then the ground is clean again, O holy Zarathustra [1]!'

47 (124). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been buried in the earth, is the earth clean again?

48 (125). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the corpse of a dead man has lain buried in the earth for fifty years [2], O Spitama Zarathustra! then the earth is clean again [3].'

49 (126). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long after the corpse of a dead man has been laid down on a Dakhma, is the ground, whereon the Dakhma stands, clean again?

50 (127). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Not until the dust of the corpse, O Spitama Zarathustra! has mingled with the dust of the earth [4]. Urge every one in the material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! to pull down Dakhmas [5].

51 (129). 'He who should pull down Dakhmas, even so much thereof as the size of his own body, his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are undone [6].

52 (132). 'Not for his soul shall the two spirits

[1] See Farg. VI, 1 seq.

[2] The time necessary to consume the corpse to its last particle.

[3] Cf. Farg. III, 36 seq.

[4] A space of time estimated at fifty years (Comm.) Cf. Farg. III, 13.

[5] Cf. Farg. III, 9, text and note, and § 13.

[6] 'A tanâfûhr sin is remitted thereby' (Comm.)

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wage war with one another[1]; and when he enters Paradise, the stars, the moon, and the sun shall rejoice in him; and I, Ahura Mazda, shall rejoice in him, saying: "Hail, O man! thou who hast just passed from the decaying world into the undecaying one[2]!"'

55[3] (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are there Daêvas? Where is it they offer worship to the Daêvas? What is the place whereon troops of Daêvas rush together, whereon troops of Daêvas come rushing along? What is the place whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads?

56 (138). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Those Dakhmas that are built upon the face of the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! and whereon are laid the corpses of dead men, that is the place where there are Daêvas, that is the place whereon troops of Daêvas

[1] When a man dies, hell and Paradise, fiends and gods struggle for the possession of his soul: Astôvîdhôtus, Vîzaresha, and the bad Vayu drag the souls of the wicked to hell; Mithra, Sraosha, Rashnu, and the good Vayu take the souls of the good to Paradise (see Farg. XIX, 29 seq.; Yt. XXII; Mainyô-i-khard II). The struggle lasts for three days and three nights (the sadis), during which time the relatives of the dead offer up prayers and sacrifices to Sraosha, Rashnu, and Vayu, to assure him their protection (cf. IX, 56).

[2] Cf. Yt. XXII, 16 and Farg. XIX, 31.

[3] §§ 53, 54 belong to the Commentary; they are composed of disconnected quotations, part of which refers to the different deeds by which a tanâfûhr sin may be redeemed, while the other part refers to the rules of what may be called the book-keeping of good actions and sins.

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rush together; whereon troops of Daêvas come rushing along; whereon they rush together to kill their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

57 (140). 'On those Dakhmas, O Spitama Zarathustra! those Daêvas take food and void filth. As you, men, in the material world, you cook meal and eat cooked meat, so do they. It is, as it were, the smell of their feeding that you smell there, O men!

58 (143). 'For thus they go on revelling, until that stench is rooted in the Dakhmas. In those Dakhmas arise the infection of diseases, itch, hot fever, naêza [1], cold fever, rickets, and hair untimely white [2]. On those Dakhmas meet the worst murderers, from the hour when the sun is down [3].

59 (148). 'And people of small understanding who do not seek for better understanding [4], the *G*ainis [5] make those diseases grow stronger by a third [6], on their thighs, on their hands, on their three-plaited hair [7].'

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[1] Doubtful.

[2] Albinism was regarded as sent by the demons. When Zâl was born with white hair, his father Sâm exposed on the Alborz 'that child of Dêv, with an old man's head' (Firdausi).

[3] Cemeteries are the meeting-place of robbers and murderers.

[4] 'Who do not seek for instruction.'

[5] 'The *G*ahi' (Comm.) The *G*aini seems to be the *G*ahi as 'killing,' as bringing sickness.

[6] The general meaning of the sentence seems to be that, for want of hygiene, diseases grow worse through the infection from the Dakhmas.

[7] Doubtful.

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IX.

60[1] (151). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda there be a woman with child, and if being a month gone, or two, or three, or four, or five, or six, or seven, or eight, or nine, or ten months gone, she bring forth a still-born child, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

61 (155). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that Mazdean house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful;'—

62 (158). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of baresma? How far from the faithful?

63 (159). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful;—

64 (160). 'On that place shall the worshippers of Mazda erect an enclosure, and therein shall they establish her with food, therein shall they establish her with clothes.'

65 (162). O Maker of the material word, thou Holy One! What is the food that the woman shall first take?

66 (163). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Gômêz mixed with ashes, three draughts of it, or six, or nine, to send down the Dakhma within her womb.

67 (166). 'Afterwards she may drink boiling milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats, with pap or without pap; she may take cooked milk without water, meal without water, and wine without water.'

68 (169). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How long shall she remain so? How long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine?

[1] §§ 60–69 = Farg. V, 45–54. See the Commentary there.

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69 (170). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three nights long shall she remain so; three nights long shall she live thus on milk, meal, and wine. Then, when three nights have passed, she shall wash her body, she shall wash her clothes, with gômêz and water, by the nine holes, and thus shall she be clean.'

70 (172). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! But if fever befall her unclean body, if these two worst pains, hunger and thirst, befall her, may she be allowed to drink water [1]?

71 (175). Ahura Mazda answered: 'She may; the first thing for her is to have her life saved. From the hands of one of the holy men, a holy faithful man, who knows the holy knowledge [2], she shall drink of the strength-giving water. But you, worshippers of Mazda, fix ye the penalty for it. The Ratu being applied to, the Sraoshâ-varez being applied to [3], shall prescribe the penalty to be paid [4].'

72 (181). What is the penalty to be paid?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The deed is that of a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana [5].'

X.

73 (183). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the eating-vessels be made clean

[1] Before those three days have passed.

[2] If there is near her a pious and intelligent man, who recognises that her life would be endangered by too strict an adherence to the rule, he will let her depart from it.

[3] See Farg. V, 25. [4] For the water having been defiled.

[5] A penalty to be undergone by the husband, at least in modern practice: 'If through fear of death or of serious illness she has drunk water before the appointed time, her husband shall make Patet for her fault before the Dastur' (Old Rav. 98 b).

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that have been touched by Nasu from a dog, or Nasu from a man?

74 (184). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If they be of gold, you shall wash them once with gômêz, you shall rub them once with earth, you shall wash them once with water, and they shall be clean.

'If they be of silver, you shall wash them twice with gômêz, you shall rub them twice with earth, you shall wash them twice with water, and they shall be clean.

[75. 'If they be of brass, you shall wash them thrice with gômêz, you shall rub them thrice with earth, you shall wash them thrice with water, and they shall be clean.

'If they be of steel, you shall wash them four times with gômêz, you shall rub them four times with earth, you shall wash them four times with water, and they shall be clean.

'If they be of stone, you shall wash them six times with gômêz, you shall rub them six times with earth, you shall wash them six times with water, and they shall be clean[1].]

'If they be of earth, of wood, or of clay, they are unclean for ever and ever[2].'

XI.

76 (189). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the cow be made clean that has

[1] From the Vendîdâd Sâda.

[2] The power of resistance to uncleanness follows the value of the materials: gold, silver, iron, steel, stone, earth, wood, clay.

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eaten of the carcase of a dog, or of the corpse of a man?

77 (190). Ahura Mazda answered: 'She can, O holy Zarathustra! The priest shall not, within a year, take from her either milk or cheese for the libation, nor meat for the libation and the Baresma [1]. When a year has passed, then the faithful may eat of her as before [2].'

XII.

78 (193). Who is he, O holy Ahura Mazda! who, meaning well and desiring righteousness, prevents righteousness? Who is he who, meaning well, falls into the ways of the Drug [3]?

79 (194). Ahura Mazda answered: 'This one, meaning well and desiring righteousness, prevents righteousness; this one, meaning well, falls into the ways of the Drug, who offers up water defiled by the dead and unfit for libation; or who offers up in the dead of the night water unfit for libation [4].'

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[1] The libation waters (Zaothra) are mixed with milk (*gîv*). The cheese (or butter) and the meat are elements of the darûn as gôshôdâ.

[2] 'Whatever comes from her, if dropped, is clean; if taken, unclean. If she be big with young, the young is born clean, if conceived before her eating of the corpse; if conceived afterwards, it is born unclean' (Comm.)

[3] Possibly, 'works for the Drug.'

[4] 'From what hour may sacrifice to the Good Waters be offered? From sunrise to sunset. . . . He who offers up libations to the Good Waters after sunset, before sunrise, does no better deed than if he should throw them downright into the jaws of a venomous snake' (Nîrangistân, § 48).

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FARGARD VIII.

I (1–3). Purification of the house where a man has died.

II (4–13). Funerals.

III (14–22). Purification of the ways along which the corpse has been carried.

IV (23–25). No clothes to be thrown on a corpse.

V (26–32). Unlawful lusts.

VI (33–34). A corpse when dried up does not contaminate.

VII (35–72). Purification of the man defiled by the dead.

VIII (73–80). Purification of the fire defiled by the dead.

IX (81–96). The Bahrâm fire.

X (97–107). Purification in the wilderness.

This chapter, putting aside section V, may be entitled: Funerals and Purification. Logical order may easily be introduced into it, by arranging the sections as follows: I, IV, II, III, VI, VII, X, VIII, IX.

I.

1. If a dog or a man die under a hut of wood or a hut of felt[1], what shall the worshippers of Mazda do[2]?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall search for a Dakhma, they shall look for a Dakhma all around[3]. If they find it easier to remove the dead, they shall take out the dead, they shall let the house stand, and shall perfume it with Urvâsna or Vohû-

[1] A movable shelter, by contradistinction to a fixed abode, something like the oba of the Tartars, one of those huts made of boards or felt and called thâruma by the Arabs, which served as pavilions for princes as well as tents for nomads.

[2] That sort of abode, having only one room, can have no chamber for the dead (Farg. V, 10).

[3] If there is a Dakhma in the proximity, they remove the corpse at once. If there is no Dakhma or the season prevents its access, they purify the hut first.

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gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant [1].

3 (8). 'If they find it easier to remove the house, they shall take away the house, they shall let the dead lie on the spot, and shall perfume the house with Urvâsna, or Vohû-gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant.'

II.

4 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a dog or a man happens to die, and it is raining [2], or snowing, or blowing [3], or it is dark, or the day is at its end, when flocks and men lose their way, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do [3]?

5 (14). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The place in that house whereof the ground is the cleanest and the driest, and the least passed through by flocks and herds, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful;'—

6 (16). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the

[1] 'So, when a dog or a man dies, the first thing to do is to take the corpse out (from the house), and to purify the house, inside and outside, with perfumes burnt on the fire' (Comm.) Cf. XI, 4. Urvâsna is the râsan plant, a sort of garlic; Vohû-gaona, Vohû-kereti, and Hadhâ-naêpata are respectively (according to Frâmjî) benzoin, aloe, and pomegranate.

[2] 'No corpse must be taken to the Dakhma when rain is falling, or threatening. If one is overtaken by rain on the way, if there be a place to lay it down, they shall lay it down; if there be none, they must go on and take it to the Dakhma, they must not retrace their steps. . . . When arrived at the Dakhma, if they find it full of water, they may nevertheless lay down the corpse' (Comm.)

[3] If it is the season of rain or snow. Cf. V, 10 seq.

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water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

7 (17). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma; three paces from the faithful;—

8 (18). 'On that place they shall dig a grave [1], half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if it be soft [2]; [they shall cover the surface of the grave with ashes or cowdung] [3]; they shall cover the surface of it with dust of bricks, of stones, or of dry earth [4].

9 (21) [5]. 'And they shall let the lifeless body lie there, for two nights, or three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth.

10 (23). 'And when the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the hidden floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall make a breach in the wall of the house [6],

[1] This is the case when the house is too small for containing a special chamber for the dead (as prescribed Farg. V, 10). Nowadays they dispense even with that grave: the corpse is laid on the floor, on a slab of marble, by which it is sufficiently isolated from the ground to prevent its being defiled.

[2] Soft earth, being not impervious to liquids, lets contagion through more easily.

[3] Vendîdâd Sâda. [4] Substances more impervious.

[5] §§ 9–10; cf. Farg. V, 12–13.

[6] 'The master and mistress of the house are carried away through a breach (made in the wall of the house); others through the door' (Comm.)—'The more scrupulous parties have it [the body] removed by a side, in preference to the usual general entrance' (H. G. Briggs, The Parsis, 1852, p. 50).

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and two men, strong and skilful[1], having stripped their clothes off[2], shall take up the body from the clay or the stones, or from the plastered house[3], and they shall lay it down on a place where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds.

11 (29). 'Afterwards the corpse-bearers shall sit down, three paces from the dead, and the holy Ratu[4] shall proclaim to the worshippers of Mazda thus: "Worshippers of Mazda, let the urine be brought here wherewith the corpse-bearers there shall wash their hair and their bodies!"'

12 (32). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies? Is it of sheep or of oxen? Is it of man or of woman?

13 (35). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is of sheep or of oxen; not of man nor of woman, except a man or a woman who has married the next-of-kin[5]: these

[1] The corpse-bearers or nasu-kasha (Khândyas). 'The corpse must be carried by two persons (see Farg. III, 13 seq.), no matter who they are; they may be a man and a woman, or two women' (Comm.)

[2] 'As they are exchanged for the special clothes in which they carry corpses' (Comm.), the so-called *g*âma-i dakhma, 'the Dakhma clothes.'

[3] The Dakhma (see Farg. VI, 50 seq.)

[4] The priest who directs the funerals, 'the chief of the Nasu-kashas' (Comm.), the so-called Nasâ-sâlâr.

[5] The next-of-kin marriage or Hvaêtvadatha (Khêtûdâd) is one of the good works that Ahriman dreads most (Shâyast lâ-shâyast XVIII; West, Pahlavi Texts, I, 389). 'Aharman and the demons are less predominant in the body of him who practises Khêtûdâd' (West, II, 422). Therefore their maêsma is as powerful as the gômêz.

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shall therefore procure the urine wherewith the corpse-bearers shall wash their hair and their bodies[1].'

III.

14 (38). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the way, whereon the carcases of dogs or corpses of men have been carried, be passed through again by flocks and herds, by men and women, by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful?

15 (40). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It cannot be passed through again by flocks and herds, nor by men and women, nor by the fire of Ahura Mazda, nor by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, nor by the faithful[2].

16 (41). 'They shall therefore cause a yellow dog with four eyes[3], or a white dog with yellow ears, to go three times through that way[4]. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras[5].]

[1] 'When back in the village they perform the regular Barashnûm with consecrated gômêz' (Comm.)

[2] The way by which the corpse has passed is haunted by the Drug Nasu: the Drug is expelled from it by the same proceeding as it was expelled from the dead, by the Sag-dîd. The Sag-dîd for the purification of the way seems to have fallen into desuetude.

[3] A dog with two spots above the eyes.

[4] 'Afrag says, the dog goes straight along the length of the way; Maidyô-mâh says, he goes across it from side to side' (Comm.)

[5] Cf. Farg. VII, 3.

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17 (45). 'If the dog goes unwillingly, O Spitama Zarathustra, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go six times[1] through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.]

18 (47). 'If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go nine times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, has been brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, [in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.]

19 (49). 'An Âthravan shall first go along the way and shall say aloud these victorious words: "Yathâ ahû vairyô[2]:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness.

'"The gifts of Vohu-manô[3] to the deeds done in this world for Mazda.

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[1] 'Three times suffice if the dog goes of his own accord; if he goes by force, it counts as nothing; if he goes but with reluctance, that shall suffice' (Comm. ad § 18).

[2] A prayer in frequent use, and considered of great efficacy, generally known as the Ahuna Vairya or Honover. It was by reciting it that Ormazd in his first conflict with Ahriman drove him back to hell (Bund. I).

[3] Of Paradise, as Vohu-manô (Good Thought) is the doorkeeper of heaven (cf. Farg. XIX, 31).

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'"He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

20 (52). '"Kem-nâ mazdâ[1]:—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô[2], through whose work I keep on the world of righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule[3]!

'"Ke verethrem-gâ[4]:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

21 (60). '"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O creation of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!"

22 (63). 'Then the worshippers of Mazda may at their will bring by those ways sheep and oxen, men and women, and Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and the faithful.

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[1] Yasna XLVI, 7.

[2] I have no protection to expect but from my virtue (Vohu-manô, 'Good Thought') and from thy fire, which in the fire ordeal (Var Nîrang) will show my innocence.

[3] That is to say, one must take Religion as one's rule.

[4] Yasna XLIV, 16. This stanza, which in the original Gâtha refers to the human incarnation of Sraosha, that is to say, to king Vîstâspa, the victorious protector of the Prophet and his Religion, is applied here to the god Sraosha, as a protector of the soul in its passage from this world to the other (Farg. VII, 52).

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'The worshippers of Mazda may afterwards[1] prepare meals with meat and wine in that house; it shall be clean, and there will be no sin, as before.'

IV.

23 (65). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body[2], enough to cover the feet, what is the penalty that he shall pay[3]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

24 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover both legs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

25 (71). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall throw clothes, either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover the whole body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes

[1] On the fourth day. For three days and nights after the death it is forbidden to cook meat in the house (Comm.)

[2] The dead must be stripped of his clothes and is exposed on the heights 'clothed with the light of heaven' (Farg. VI, 51).—The modern use is to have him wrapped in a shroud as old and as much worn out as possible (Farg. V, 61).

[3] See Farg. V, 60; VII, 20.

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with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

V.

26 (74). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man, by force, commits the unnatural sin, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man voluntarily commits the unnatural sin, what is the penalty for it? What is the atonement for it? What is the cleansing from it?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'For that deed there is nothing that can pay, nothing that can atone, nothing that can cleanse from it; it is a trespass for which there is no atonement, for ever and ever.'

28 (83)[1]. When is it so?

'It is so, if the sinner be a professor of the Religion of Mazda, or one who has been taught in it.

'But if he be not a professor of the Religion of Mazda, nor one who has been taught in it, then his sin is taken from him, if he makes confession of the Religion of Mazda and resolves never to commit again such forbidden deeds.

29 (88). 'The Religion of Mazda indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! takes away from him who makes confession of it the bonds of his sin; it takes away (the sin of) breach of trust; it takes away (the sin of) murdering one of the faithful; it takes away (the sin of) burying a corpse; it takes away (the sin of) deeds for which there is no atonement; it takes away the worst sin of usury; it takes away any sin that may be sinned.

[1] See Farg. III, 38–42, text and notes.

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30 (95). 'In the same way the Religion of Mazda, O Spitama Zarathustra! cleanses the faithful from every evil thought, word, and deed, as a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain.

'So let all the deeds he doeth be henceforth good, O Zarathustra! a full atonement for his sin is effected by means of the Religion of Mazda.'

31 (98). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who is the man that is a Daêva? Who is he that is a worshipper of the Daêvas? that is a male paramour of the Daêvas? that is a female paramour of the Daêvas? that is a wife to the Daêva[1]? that is as bad as a Daêva? that is in his whole being a Daêva? Who is he that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death[2]?

32 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The man that lies with mankind as man lies with womankind, or as woman lies with mankind, is the man that is a Daêva; this one is the man that is a worshipper of the Daêvas, that is a male paramour of the Daêvas, that is a female paramour of the Daêvas, that is a wife to the Daêva; this is the man that is as bad as a Daêva, that is in his whole being a Daêva; this is the man that is a Daêva before he dies, and becomes one of the unseen Daêvas after death: so is he, whether he has lain with mankind as mankind, or as womankind[3].'

[1] 'As a wife is obedient to her husband, so is he to the Daêvas' (Comm.)

[2] Demons are often the restless souls of the wicked, excluded from heaven. The Persian sect of the Mahâbâdians believed that the soul that had not spoken and done good became an Ahriman or *g*in (Dabistân).

[3] The guilty may be killed by any one, without an order from

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VI.

33 (107). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Shall the man be clean who has touched a corpse that has been dried up and dead more than a year[1]?

34 (108). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall. The dry mingles not with the dry[2]. Should the dry mingle with the dry, how soon all this material world of mine would be only one Peshôtanu, bent on the destruction of righteousness, and whose soul will cry and wail! so numberless are the beings that die upon the face of the earth[3].'

VII.

35 (111). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the man be made clean that has

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the Dastur (see § 74 n.), and by this execution an ordinary capital crime may be redeemed (Comm. ad VII, 52).

[1] The corpse, dried up, contains no longer any of the solid and liquid elements that generate corruption and infection (see above, p. 75, n. 2).

[2] This principle still prevails even with Musulman Persians: 'Pour encourir leur immondicité dans l'attouchement des Chrétiens et autres idolatres, il est nécessaire que s'ils les touchent, leurs vêtements soient mouillés. C'est à cause, disent-ils, qu'étans secs l'immondicité ne s'attache pas; . . . . ce qui est cause que dans les villes où leurs Mullas et Docteurs ont plus d'autorité, ils font parfois défendre par leurs Kans que lorsqu'il pleut, les Chrétiens ne sortent pas de leurs maisons, de crainte que par accident, venans à les heurter, ils ne soient rendus immondes' (G. du Chinon, p. 88 seq.; cf. Chardin). Still nowadays, in Persia, the Jews are not allowed to go out of their house on a rainy day, lest the religious impurity, conducted through the rain, should pass from the Jew to the Musulman.

[3] See Farg. V, 4.

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touched the corpse of a dog or the corpse of a man?

36 (113). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra!'

How so?

'If the Nasu has already been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds, he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water, and he shall be clean[1].

37 (117). 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs, or by the corpse-eating birds[2], then the worshippers of Mazda shall dig three holes in the ground[3], and he shall thereupon wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog[4], they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front [of the man][5].

38 (121). 'The worshippers of Mazda shall dig three other holes[6] in the ground, and he shall thereupon wash his body with gômêz, not with water. They shall then lift and bring my dog, they shall bring him (thus shall it be done and not otherwise) in front [of the man]. Then shall they wait until he

[1] If the Sag-dîd has been performed, a simple ghosel is enough. Cf. Farg. VII, 29, notes 1 and 5.

[2] If the Sag-dîd has not been performed, the Barashnûm is necessary.

[3] The first three holes, which contain gômêz. For the disposition of the holes, see the following Fargard.

Three times; every time that the unclean one passes from one hole to another (Comm. ad IX, 32).

[5] To look at him, or, rather, at the Nasu in him, whilst the priest sings the spells that drive the Nasu.

[6] Containing gômêz too.

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is dried[1] even to the last hair on the top of his head.

39 (125). 'They shall dig three more holes[2] in the ground, three paces away from the preceding, and he shall thereupon wash his body with water[3], not with gômêz.

40 (127). 'He shall first wash his hands; if his hands be not first washed, he makes the whole of his body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle with water[4] the forepart of his skull[5].'

41 (131). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the forepart of the skull, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush[6]?

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[1] He rubs himself dry with handfuls of dust (see IX, 29 seq.)

[2] Containing water.

[3] As a master does not take away the dunghill from his house with his own hands, but has it taken away by his servants, so the water, being of higher dignity than the gômêz, has the worst of the impurity taken by the gômêz, and intervenes only when there is nothing left that can attain it (Abalish, tr. Barthelemy, ch. V and note 29).

[4] The water is shed from a spoon, tied to a long stick, 'the stick with nine knots' (Farg. IX, 14).

[5] Bareshnûm; from which word the whole of the operation has taken its name.

[6] The Nasu is expelled symmetrically, from limb to limb, from the right side of the body to the left, from the forepart to the back parts, and she flies, thus pursued, downwards from the top of the head to the tips of the toes. The retreating order of the Nasu is just the reverse of the order in which she invaded the different members of the first man: she entered Gayomart by the little toe of the left foot, then went up to the heart, then to the shoulder, at last to the summit of the head (Gr. Bund.) Death still seizes the foot first.

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, between the brows, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

42 (134). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front, between the brows, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'On the back part of the skull the Drug Nasu rushes.'

43 (137). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back part of the skull, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, on the jaws, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

44 (140). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach in front, on the jaws, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

45 (143). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left ear the Drug Nasu rushes.'

46 (146). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ear, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

47 (149). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left shoulder the Drug Nasu rushes.'

48 (152). O Maker of the material world, thou

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Holy One! When the good waters reach the left shoulder, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

49 (155). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left arm-pit the Drug Nasu rushes.'

50 (158). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left arm-pit, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'In front, upon the chest, the Drug Nasu rushes.'

51 (161). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the chest in front, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the back the Drug Nasu rushes.'

52 (164). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the back, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

53 (167). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left nipple the Drug Nasu rushes.'

54 (170). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left nipple, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right rib the Drug Nasu rushes.'

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55 (173). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right rib, whereon does the Druǵ Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left rib the Druǵ Nasu rushes.'

56 (176). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left rib, whereon does the Druǵ Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right hip the Druǵ Nasu rushes.'

57 (179). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right hip, whereon does the Druǵ Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left hip the Druǵ Nasu rushes.'

58 (182). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left hip, whereon does the Druǵ Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the sexual parts the Druǵ Nasu rushes. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind.'

59 (187). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the sexual parts, whereon does the Druǵ Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right thigh the Druǵ Nasu rushes.'

60 (190). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right thigh, whereon does the Druǵ Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left thigh the Druǵ Nasu rushes.'

61 (193). O Maker of the material world, thou

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Holy One! When the good waters reach the left thigh, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

62 (196). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left knee the Drug Nasu rushes.'

63 (199). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left knee, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

64 (202). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left leg the Drug Nasu rushes.'

65 (205). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left leg, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

66 (208). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left ankle the Drug Nasu rushes.'

67 (211). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left ankle, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the right instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

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68 (214). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the right instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Upon the left instep the Drug Nasu rushes.'

69 (217). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When the good waters reach the left instep, whereon does the Drug Nasu rush?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'She turns round under the sole of the foot; it looks like the wing of a fly.

70 (220). 'He shall press his toes upon the ground, and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole. Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole with water; then the Drug Nasu turns round under the toes; it looks like the wing of a fly.

71 (225). 'He shall press his heels upon the ground, and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe with water; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe. Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe with water; then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

[72. 'And thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:

'"The will of the Lord is the law of holiness," &c.

'"What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me?" &c.

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'"Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching?" &c.[1]

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spe*n*ta! Perish, O fiendish Dru*g*! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O creation of the fiend! Perish O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Dru*g*! Rush away, O Dru*g*! Perish away, O Dru*g*! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness[2]!"']

VIII.

73 (229). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a Nasu-burning fire, whereon Nasu is being burnt or cooked[3], what shall they do?

74 (233). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall kill the man that cooks the Nasu; surely they shall kill him[4]. They shall take off the cauldron, they shall take off the tripod.

75 (237). 'Then they shall kindle wood from that fire; either wood of those trees that have the seed of fire in them, or bundles of the very wood that was prepared for that fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner[5].

[1] As in §§ 19, 20. [2] From the Vendîdâd Sâda; cf. § 21.

[3] For food. Cf. Farg. VII, 23–24.

[4] 'He who burns Nasâ (dead matter) must be killed. Burning or cooking Nasâ from the dead is a capital crime. . . . Four men can be put to death by any one without an order from the Dastur: the Nasâ-burner, the highwayman, the Sodomite, and the criminal taken in the deed' (Comm.)

[5] A new fire is kindled from the Nasu-burning fire: this new fire is disposed in such a way that it should die out soon: before it has died out, they kindle a new fire from it and so on for nine times: the ninth fire, derived from the one impure, through seven inter-

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76 (242). 'Thus they shall lay a first bundle on the ground[1], a Vîtasti[2] away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

77 (245). 'They shall lay down a second bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a third bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fourth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a fifth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down a sixth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

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mediate fires, more and more distant from the original impurity, will represent the fire in its native purity and can enter into the composition of a Bahrâm fire.—On the modern process, see Dosabhoy Frâmjî, History of the Parsis, II, 213.

[1] In a hole dug for that purpose; such is at least the custom nowadays. The ceremony is thus made an imitation of the Baraslınûm. The unclean fire, represented by the nine bundles, passes through the nine holes, as the unclean man does (see above, § 37 seq. and Farg. IX, 12 seq.), and leaves at each of them some of the uncleanness it has contracted.

[2] A span of twelve fingers.

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'They shall lay down a seventh bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

'They shall lay down an eighth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

78 (245). 'They shall lay down a ninth bundle on the ground, a Vîtasti away from the Nasu-burning fire; then they shall take it farther and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner.

79 (246). 'If a man shall then piously bring unto the fire, O Spitama Zarathustra! wood of Urvâsna, or Vohû-gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling wood;

80 (248). 'Wheresoever the wind shall bring the perfume of the fire, thereunto the fire of Ahura Mazda shall go and kill thousands of unseen Daêvas, thousands of fiends, the brood of darkness, thousands of couples of Yâtus and Pairikas[1].'

IX.

81 (251). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a Nasu-burning fire to the Dâityô-gâtu[2], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

[1] It will have all the power of the Bahrâm fire.

[2] 'The proper abode,' the Bahrâm fire. The Bahrâm fire is composed of a thousand and one fires belonging to sixteen different classes (ninety-one corpse-burning fires, eighty dyers' fires, &c.) As the earthly representative of the heavenly fire, it is the sacred centre to which every earthly fire longs to return, in order to be united again, as much as possible, with its native abode. The

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten thousand fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

82 (254). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire wherein impure liquid has been burnt[1], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a thousand fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.

83 (257). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire wherein dung has been burnt[2], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought five hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

84 (258). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from the kiln of a potter, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought four hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

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more it has been defiled by worldly uses, the greater is the merit acquired by freeing it from defilement.

[1] The hêhr, that is to say all sort of impurity that comes from the body.

[2] 'The fire of a bath,' according to Frâmjî; the use of the bath was prohibited; according to Josuah the Stylite (ch. XX, tr. Martin), king Balash (484–488) was overthrown by the Magi for having built bath-houses. The reason of this prohibition was probably that it entailed the defilement of the fire, as they were warmed with cowdung.

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85 (259). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from a glazier's kiln, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were glasses [brought to that fire][1].'

86 (260). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from the aonya parô-bere*g*ya[2], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought to the Dâityô-gâtu as many fire-brands as there were plants[1].'

87 (261). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a goldsmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought a hundred fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

88 (262). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a silversmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ninety fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

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[1] Doubtful.

[2] Meaning unknown. Perhaps a fire for burning weeds.

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89 (263). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a blacksmith, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought eighty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

90 (264). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under the puncheon of a worker in steel, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought seventy fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

91 (265). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of an oven[1], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted from his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought sixty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

92 (266). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire from under a cauldron[2], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought fifty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

93 (267). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the

[1] A baker's fire.

[2] The kitchen-fire.

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fire from an aonya takhairya[1], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought forty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

94 (268). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring a herdsman's fire to the Dâityô-gâtu, what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought thirty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

[95 (269)[2]. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of the field[3], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought twenty fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.']

96 (270). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man bring to the Dâityô-gâtu the fire of his own hearth[4], what shall be his reward when his soul has parted with his body?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'His reward shall be the same as if he had, here below, brought ten fire-brands to the Dâityô-gâtu.'

X.

97 (271). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can a man be made clean, O holy

[1] Meaning unknown.

[2] From the Vendîdâd Sâda.

[3] The hunter's fire, an encampment's fire.

[4] By which one warms one's self; the fire least exposed to uncleanness.

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Ahura Mazda! who has touched a corpse in a distant place in the wilderness[1]?

98 (272). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He can, O holy Zarathustra.'

How so?

'If the Nasu has already been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it thirty times, he shall rub it dry with the hand thirty times, beginning every time with the head[2].

99 (278). 'If the Nasu has not yet been expelled by the corpse-eating dogs or the corpse-eating birds, he shall wash his body with gômêz; he shall wash it fifteen times, he shall rub it dry with the hand fifteen times[3].

100 (280). 'Then he shall run a distance of a Hâthra[4]. He shall run until he meets some man on his way, and he shall cry out aloud: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, and who is powerless in mind, powerless in tongue, powerless in hand[5]. Do make me clean." Thus shall he run until he overtakes the man. If the man

[1] Where the regular process of purification cannot be performed. —The Pahlavi Commentary to this chapter will be found in West, Pahlavi Texts, II, p. 455.

[2] Perhaps better: 'this is as good as the chief purification' (that is to say as a regular Barashnûm).—If the Sag-dîd has been performed, the Sî-shû (thirtyfold washing) is enough. Cf. above, §§ 35, 36.

[3] If the Sag-dîd has not been performed, he cleanses himself in a summary way till he comes to a place where the Barashnûm can be performed.

[4] See p. 15, n. 6.

[5] On account of my uncleanness, I am armêšt, excluded from active life and unfit for any work.

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will not cleanse him, he remits him the third of his trespass[1].

101 (287). 'Then he shall run another Hâthra, he shall run off again until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he remits him the half of his trespass[2].

102 (291). 'Then he shall run a third Hâthra, he shall run off a third time until he overtakes a man; if the man will not cleanse him, he remits him the whole of his trespass.

103 (294). 'Thus shall he run forwards until he comes near a house, a borough, a town, an inhabited district, and he shall cry out with a loud voice: "Here am I, one who has touched the corpse of a man, and who is powerless in mind, powerless in tongue, powerless in hand. Do make me clean." If they will not cleanse him, he shall cleanse his body with gômêz and water; thus shall he be clean[3].'

104 (300). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he find water on his way and the water make him subject to a penalty[4], what is the penalty that he shall pay?

105 (303). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

106 (304). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If he find trees[5] on his way and the

[1] As he takes it upon his own head.

[2] The half of the remnant, that is the second third.

[3] 'He may then attend to his business; he may work and till; some say he must abstain from sacrifice (till he has undergone the Barashnûm)' (Comm.)

[4] As he defiled it by crossing it.

[5] 'Trees fit for the fire' (Comm.) If he touches those trees, the fire to which they are brought becomes unclean by his fault.

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fire make him subject to a penalty, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Four hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, four hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

107 (308). 'This is the penalty, this is the atonement which saves the faithful man who submits to it, not him who does not submit to it. Such a one shall surely be an inhabitant in the mansion of the Drug[1].'

FARGARD IX.

The Nine Nights' Barashnûm.

I a (1–11). Description of the place for cleansing the unclean (the Barashnûm-gâh).

I b (12–36). Description of the cleansing.

II (37–44). Fees of the cleanser.

III (47–57). The false cleanser; his punishment.

§§ 45, 46 belong better to the following Fargard.

The ceremony described in this Fargard is known among the Parsis as Barashnûm nû shaba, or 'nine nights' Barashnûm,' because it lasts for nine nights (see § 35)[2]. It is the great purification, the most efficacious of all; it not only makes the defiled man clean, but it opens to him the heavens (see Farg. XIX, 33). So, although it was formerly intended only for the man defiled by the dead, it became, during the Parsi period, a pious work which might be performed without any corpse having been touched; nay, its performance was prescribed, once at least, at the time of the Nû zûdî (at the age of fifteen, when the young Parsi becomes a member of the community), in order to wash away the natural uncleanness that has been contracted in the maternal womb (Saddar 36)[3]. It must also be undergone by a priest who wants

[1] Hell. Imitated from Yasna XLIX, 11 d. Cf. Farg. XIV, 18.

[2] On the name Barashnûm, see p. 107, note 5.

[3] For the plan of the Barashnûm-gâh, see West, Pahlavi Texts, II, p. 435.

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to appear before the Bahrâm fire or perform the Yasna or the Vendîdâd office.

I a.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! To whom shall they apply here below, who want to cleanse their body defiled by the dead?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'To a pious man[1], O Spitama Zarathustra! who knows how to speak, who speaks truth, who has learned the Holy Word, who is pious, and knows best the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda. That man shall fell the trees off the surface of the ground on a space of nine Vîbâzus[2] square;

3 (9). 'in that part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees, the part which is the cleanest and driest, and the least passed through by sheep and oxen, and by the fire of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of Baresma, and by the faithful.'

4 (11). How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

5 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thirty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.

6 (13). 'Then thou shalt dig a hole[3], two fingers

[1] A priest. [2] Nine ells (?). See Farg. VII, 34.

[3] Those holes are intended to receive the liquid trickling from the body. In summer, the air and the earth being dry the hole may be less deep, as it is certain that it will be empty and will have room enough for that liquid.

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deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

7 (14). 'Thou shalt dig a second hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a third hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a fourth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a fifth hole, two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.

'Thou shalt dig a sixth hole[1], two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.'

8 (14). How far from one another?

'One pace.'

How much is the pace?

'As much as three feet.

9 (16). 'Then thou shalt dig three holes more[2], two fingers deep if the summer has come, four fingers deep if the winter and ice have come.'

How far from the former six?

'Three paces.'

What sort of paces?

'Such as are taken in walking.'

How much are those (three) paces?

'As much as nine feet.

10 (22). 'Then thou shalt draw a furrow all around with a metal knife.'

[1] These six holes contain gômêz. 'The holes must be dug from the north to the south' (Comm.)

[2] The three holes to contain water.

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How far from the holes?

'Three paces.'

What sort of paces?

'Such as are taken in walking.'

How much are those (three) paces?

'As much as nine feet.

11 (24). 'Then thou shalt draw twelve furrows[1]; three of which thou shalt draw to surround and divide [from the rest] (the first) three holes; three thou shalt draw to surround and divide (the first) six holes; three thou shalt draw to surround and divide the nine holes; three thou shalt draw around the [three] inferior holes, outside the [six other] holes[2]. At each of the three times nine feet[3], thou shalt place stones as steps to the holes; or potsherds, or stumps[4], or clods, or any hard matter[5].'

[1] 'The furrows must be drawn during the day; they must be drawn with a knife; they must be drawn with recitation of spells. While drawing the furrows the cleanser recites three Ashem-vohus ("holiness is the best of all good," &c.), the Fravarânê ("I declare myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, a foe of the fiend," &c.), the Khshnûman of Serosh, and the Bâg of Serosh; they must be drawn from the north' (Comm. ad § 32). The furrow, or kesh, plays a greater part in the Mazdean liturgy than in any other. By means of the furrow, drawn with proper spells, and according to the laws of spiritual war, man either besieges the fiend or intrenches himself against him (cf. Farg. XVII, 5). In the present case the Drug, being shut up inside the kesh and thus excluded from the world outside, and being driven back, step by step, by the strength of the holy water and spells, finds at last no place of refuge but hell.

[2] 'The three holes for water, the six holes for gômêz' (Comm.)

[3] The nine feet between the holes containing gômêz and those containing water, the nine feet between the first holes and the furrows, and the nine feet between the last hole and the furrows.

[4] Dâdara.

[5] That the foot of the unclean one may not touch the earth.

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I b.

12 (31). 'Then the man defiled shall walk to the holes; thou, O Zarathustra! shalt stand outside by the furrow, and thou shalt recite, Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis tzâkâ[1]; and the man defiled shall repeat, Nemaskâ yâ ârmaitis tzâkâ.

13 (35). 'The Drug becomes weaker and weaker at every one of those words which are a weapon to smite the fiend Angra Mainyu, to smite Aêshma of the murderous spear[2], to smite the Mâzainya fiends[3], to smite all the fiends.

14 (40). 'Then thou shalt take for the gômêz a spoon of brass or of lead. When thou takest a stick with nine knots[4], O Spitama Zarathustra! to sprinkle (the gômêz) from that spoon, thou shalt fasten the spoon to the end of the stick.

15 (43). 'They shall wash his hands first. If his hands be not washed first, he makes his whole body unclean. When he has washed his hands three times, after his hands have been washed, thou shalt sprinkle the forepart of his skull[5]; then the Drug Nasu rushes in front, between his brows[6].

16 (50). 'Thou shalt sprinkle him in front between the brows; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back part of the skull.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the back part of the skull; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the jaws.

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[1] Yasna XLIX. 10 c.

[2] See Farg. X, 13.

[3] See Farg. X, 16.

[4] So long that the cleanser may take gômêz or water from the holes and sprinkle the unclean one, without touching him and without going inside the furrows.

[5] With gômêz at the first six holes, with water at the next three.

[6] Cf. Farg. VIII, 40–71.

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'Thou shalt sprinkle the jaws; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ear.

17 (56). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ear.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left ear; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right shoulder.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left shoulder.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left shoulder; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right arm-pit.

18 (64). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right arm-pit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left arm-pit.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left arm-pit; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the chest.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the chest; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the back.

19 (70). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the back; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right nipple.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left nipple.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left nipple; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right rib.

20 (76). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left rib.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left rib; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right hip.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left hip.

21 (82). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left hip; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the sexual parts.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the sexual parts. If the unclean one be a man, thou shalt sprinkle him first behind, then before; if the unclean one be a woman, thou shalt sprinkle her first before, then behind;

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then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right thigh.

22 (88). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the right thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left thigh.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left thigh; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right knee.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left knee.

23 (94). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left knee; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right leg.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left leg.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left leg; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right ankle.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left ankle.

24 (102). 'Thou shalt sprinkle the left ankle; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the right instep.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the right instep; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left instep.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left instep; then the Drug Nasu turns round under the sole of the foot; it looks like the wing of a fly.

25 (108). 'He shall press his toes upon the ground and shall raise up his heels; thou shalt sprinkle his right sole; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left sole.

'Thou shalt sprinkle the left sole; then the Drug Nasu turns round under the toes; it looks like the wing of a fly.

26 (113). 'He shall press his heels upon the ground and shall raise up his toes; thou shalt sprinkle his right toe; then the Drug Nasu rushes upon the left toe.

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'Thou shalt sprinkle the left toe; then the Druǵ Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, droning without end, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

27 (118). 'And thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words:—

'"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness.

'"The gifts of Vohu-manô to deeds done in this world for Mazda.

'"He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

'"Kem-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hadst thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom, but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, through whose work I keep on the world of Righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule!

'"Ke verethrem-ǵâ:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Druǵ! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Druǵ! Rush away, O Druǵ! Perish away, O Druǵ! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness[1]!"

28 (119). 'At the first hole the man becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.[2]

'At the second hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

[1] Cf. Farg. VIII, 19–21.

[2] As in preceding clause.

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'At the third hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the fourth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the fifth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

'At the sixth hole he becomes freer from the Nasu; then thou shalt say those victorious, most healing words:—"Yathâ ahû vairyô," &c.

29 (120). 'Afterwards the man defiled shall sit down, inside the furrows[1], outside the furrows of the six holes, four fingers from those furrows. There he shall cleanse his body with thick handfuls of dust.

30 (123). 'Fifteen times shall they take up dust from the ground for him to rub his body, and they shall wait there until he is dry even to the last hair on his head.

31 (125). 'When his body is dry with dust, then he shall step over the holes (containing water). At the first hole he shall wash his body once with water; at the second hole he shall wash his body twice with water; at the third hole he shall wash his body thrice with water.

32 (130). 'Then he shall perfume (his body) with Urvâsna, or Vohû-gaona, or Vohû-kereti, or Hadhâ-naêpata, or any other sweet-smelling plant; then he shall put on his clothes, and shall go back to his house.

[1] Between the furrows of the six holes containing gômêz and the furrows of the holes containing water.

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33 (133). 'He shall sit down there in the place of infirmity[1], inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until three nights have passed. When three nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

34 (137). 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue until six nights have passed. When six nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

35 (141). 'Then he shall sit down again in the place of infirmity, inside the house, apart from the other worshippers of Mazda. He shall not go near the fire, nor near the water, nor near the earth, nor near the cow, nor near the trees, nor near the faithful, either man or woman. Thus shall he continue, until nine nights have passed. When nine nights have passed, he shall wash his body, he shall wash his clothes with gômêz and water to make them clean.

36 (145). 'He may thenceforth go near the fire, near the water, near the earth, near the cow, near the trees, and near the faithful, either man or woman.

[1] The Armêst-gâh (see Farg. V, 59, note 4).

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II.[1]

37 (146). 'Thou shalt cleanse a priest for a blessing of the just[2].

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a province for the value of a camel of high value.

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a town for the value of a stallion of high value.

'Thou shalt cleanse the lord of a borough for the value of a bull of high value.

'Thou shalt cleanse the master of a house for the value of a cow three years old.

38 (151). 'Thou shalt cleanse the wife of the master of a house for the value of a ploughing[3] cow.

'Thou shalt cleanse a menial for the value of a draught cow.

'Thou shalt cleanse a young child for the value of a lamb.

39 (154). 'These are the heads of cattle—flocks or herds—that the worshippers of Mazda shall give to the man who has cleansed them, if they can afford it; if they cannot afford it, they shall give him any other value that may make him leave their houses well pleased with them, and free from anger.

40 (157). 'For if the man who has cleansed them leave their houses displeased with them, and full of anger, then the Drug Nasu enters them from the nose [of the dead], from the eyes, from the tongue, from the jaws, from the sexual organs, from the hinder parts.

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[1] Cf. the tariff for the fees of physicians, Farg. VII, 41–43.

[2] See Farg. VII, 41, note 3.

[3] Doubtful.

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41 (159). 'And the Drug Nasu rushes upon them even to the end of the nails, and they are unclean thenceforth for ever and ever.

'It grieves the sun indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! to shine upon a man defiled by the dead; it grieves the moon, it grieves the stars.

42 (162). 'That man delights them, O Spitama Zarathustra! who cleanses from the Nasu the man defiled by the dead; he delights the fire, he delights the water, he delights the earth, he delights the cow, he delights the trees, he delights the faithful, both men and women.'

43 (164). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What shall be his reward, after his soul has parted from his body, who has cleansed from the Nasu the man defiled by the dead?'

44 (166). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The welfare[1] of Paradise thou canst promise to that man, for his reward in the other world.'

45[2] (167). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Nasu who from the dead defiles the living?'

46 (169). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice[3].

[1] Literally, 'the grease.'

[2] This clause and the following one as far as 'and the Drug shall fly away' are further developed in the following Fargard.

[3] The Bis-âmrûta formulas, as enumerated in the following Fargard.

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'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice[1].

'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times[1].

'And the Drug shall fly away like the well-darted arrow, like the felt of last year[2], like the annual garment[3] of the earth.'

III.

47 (172). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man who does not know the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda, offers to cleanse the unclean, how shall I then fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?

48 (175). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the Drug Nasu appears to wax stronger than she was before. Stronger then are sickness and death and the working of the fiend than they were before[4].'

49 (177). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The worshippers of Mazda shall bind him; they shall bind his hands first; then they shall strip him of his clothes, they shall cut the head off his neck, and they shall give over his corpse unto the greediest of the corpse-

[1] The Thris-âmrûta and Kathrus-âmrûta formulas, as enumerated in the following Fargard.

[2] The felt of an oba made for a season (?). Cf. Farg. VIII, 1.

[3] The grass.

[4] The plague and contagion are stronger than ever.

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eating creatures made by the beneficent Spirit, unto the vultures, with these words [1]:—

'"The man here has repented of all his evil thoughts, words, and deeds.

50 (183). '"If he has committed any other evil deed, it is remitted by his repentance; if he has committed no other evil deed, he is absolved by his repentance for ever and ever [2]."'

51 (187). Who is he, O Ahura Mazda! who threatens to take away fulness and increase from the world, and to bring in sickness and death?

52 (188). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the ungodly Ashemaogha [3], O Spitama Zarathustra! who in this material world cleanses the unclean without knowing the rites of cleansing according to the law of Mazda.

53 (190). 'For until then, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass [4].'

54 (191). O Maker of the material world, thou

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[1] 'The cleanser who has not performed the cleansing according to the rites, shall be taken to a desert place; there they shall nail him with four nails, they shall take off the skin from his body, and cut off his head. If he has performed Patet for his sin, he shall be holy (that is, he shall go to Paradise); if he has not performed Patet, he shall stay in hell till the day of resurrection' (Fraser Ravâet, p. 398). Cf. Farg. III, 20–21 and note 5.

[2] See Farg. III, 20 seq.

[3] See Farg. V, 35

[4] Cf. XIII, 52 seq. The false cleanser is punished as would be a man who would introduce an epidemic. He undergoes the same penalty as the êvak-bar, but with none of the mitigation allowed in the case of the latter, on account of the sacrilegious character of his usurpation.

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Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

55, 56 (192, 193). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until that ungodly Ashemaogha has been smitten to death on the spot, and the holy Sraosha of that place has been offered up a sacrifice[1], for three days and three nights, with fire blazing, with Baresma tied up, and with Haoma prepared.

57 (196). 'Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

FARGARD X.

Nowadays, before laying the dead in the coffin, two priests recite the Ahunavaiti Gâtha (Yasna XXVIII–XXXIV): it is the so-called Gâh sârnâ (chanting of the Gathas: gâthâo srâvayêiti). From the following Fargard it appears that formerly all the five Gâthas and the Yasna Haptanghâiti were recited. Certain stanzas were recited several times and with a certain emphasis (framrava): and they were followed with certain spells. The object of this Fargard is to show which are those stanzas, how many times each was recited, and to give the corresponding spells.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the ma-

[1] The sadis sacrifice, that is to say, the sacrifice that is offered up to Sraosha for three days and three nights after the death of a man for the salvation of his soul.

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terial world, thou Holy One! How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead rushes upon the living? How shall I fight against that Drug who from the dead defiles the living?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice[1].

'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice[2].

'Say aloud those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times[3].'

3 (7). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice?

4 (10). Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said twice, and thou shalt twice say them aloud[4]:—

ahyâ yâsâ . . . urvânem (Yasna XXVIII, 2).

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humatenãm . . . mahî (Yas. XXXV, 2),
ashahyâ âad sairê . . . ahubyâ (Yas. XXXV, 8),
yathâ tû î . . . ahurâ (Yas. XXXIX, 4),
humâim thwâ . . . hudaustemâ (Yas. XLI, 3),
thwôi staotarasčâ . . . ahurâ (Yas. XLI, 5).

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ustâ ahmâi . . . mananghô (Yas. XLIII, 1),
spentâ mainyû . . . ahurô (Yas. XLVII, 1),
vohu khshathrem . . . vareshânê (Yas. LI, 1),
vahistâ îstis . . . skyaothanâčâ (Yas. LIII, 1).

5 (10). 'And after thou hast twice said those Bis-âmrûtas, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:—

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[1] The so-called Bis-âmrûta.

[2] The Thris-âmrûta. [3] The Kathrus-âmrûta.

[4] The Bis-âmrûta are the opening stanzas of the five Gâthas and five stanzas in the Yasna Haptanghâiti.

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'"I drive away Angra Mainyu[1] from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

6 (12). '"I drive away the Nasu[2], I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness."'

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7 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice?

8 (16). Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice, and thou shalt thrice say them aloud:—

ashem vohû . . . (Yas. XXVII, 14),
ye sevistô . . . paitî (Yas. XXXIII, 11),
hukhshathrôtemâi . . . vahistâi (Yas. XXXV, 5),
duzvarenâis . . . vahyô (Yas. LIII, 9).

9 (16). 'After thou hast thrice said those Thrisâmrûtas, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:—

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[1] The chief demon, the Daêva of the Daêvas.

[2] The very demon with whom one has to do in the present case.

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'"I drive away Indra[1], I drive away Sauru[1], I drive away the daêva Naunghaithya[1], from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

10 (18). '"I drive away Tauru[1], I drive away Zairi[1], from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the holy world."'

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11 (19). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which are those words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times?

12 (22). Ahura Mazda answered: 'These are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times, and thou shalt four times say them aloud:—

yathâ ahû vairyô . . .[2] (Yas. XXVII, 13),

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[1] Indra, Sauru, Naunghaithya, Tauru, and Zairi are (with Akem-manô, here replaced by the Nasu), the six chief demons, and stand to the Amesha Spentas in the same relation as Angra Mainyu to Spenta Mainyu. Indra opposes Asha Vahista and turns men's hearts from good works; Sauru opposes Khshathra Vairya, he presides over bad government; Naunghaithya opposes Spenta Ârmaiti, he is the demon of discontent; Tauru and Zairi oppose Haurvatât and Ameretât and poison the waters and the plants.—Akem-manô, Bad Thought, opposes Vohu-manô, Good Thought.

[2] Translated Farg. VIII, 19.

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mazdâ a*d* môi . . . d*a*u ahûm[1] (Yas. XXXIV, 15),
â airyamâ ishyô . . . masatâ mazd*a*u[2] (Yas. LIV. 1).

13 (22). 'After thou hast said those *K*athrus-âmrûtas four times, thou shalt say aloud these victorious, most healing words:—

'"I drive away Aêshma, the fiend of the murderous spear[3], I drive away the daêva Akatasha[4], from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness.

14 (24). '"I drive away the Varenya daêvas[5], I drive away the wind-daêva, from this house, from this borough, from this town, from this land; from the very body of the man defiled by the dead, from the very body of the woman defiled by the dead; from the master of the house, from the lord of the borough, from the lord of the town, from the lord of the land; from the whole of the world of Righteousness."

15 (25). 'These are the words in the Gâthas that

[1] Translated Farg. XI, 14.

[2] Translated Farg. XX, 11; cf. XI, 7.

[3] Aêshma, Khishm, the incarnation of anger: he sows quarrel and war. 'He is the chief source of evil for the creatures of Ormazd, and the Kayani heroes mostly perished through him' (Bund. XXVIII, 17).

[4] The fiend who corrupts and perverts men.

[5] The fiendish inhabitants of Varena (Gîlân). Varena, like the neighbouring Mâzana (Mâzandarân), was peopled with savage, non-Aryan natives, who were considered men-demons. Cf. Farg. I, 18 and notes.

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are to be said twice; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said thrice; these are the words in the Gâthas that are to be said four times.

16 (26). 'These are the words that smite down Angra Mainyu; these are the words that smite down Aêshma, the fiend of the murderous spear; these are the words that smite down the daêvas of Mâzana[1]; these are the words that smite down all the daêvas.

17 (30). 'These are the words that stand against that Drug, against that Nasu, who from the dead rushes upon the living, who from the dead defiles the living.

18 (32). 'Therefore, O Zarathustra! thou shalt dig nine holes[2] in the part of the ground where there is least water and where there are fewest trees; where there is nothing that may be food either for man or beast; "for purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good, that purity, O Zarathustra, that is in the Religion of Mazda for him who cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds[3]."

19 (38). 'Make thy own self pure, O righteous man! any one in the world here below can win purity for his own self, namely, when he cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words, and deeds.

20. '"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.[4]

'"Kem-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given

[1] The demoniac races of Mâzandarân; Mâzandarân was known in popular tradition as a land of fiends and sorcerers.

[2] The nine holes for the Barashnûm; see above, p. 123, § 6 seq.

[3] Cf. Farg. V, 21.

[4] The rest as in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

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unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me?" &c.

'"Ke verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching?" &c.

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! . . . Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!"'

FARGARD XI.

This chapter, like the preceding, is composed of spells intended to drive away the Nasu. But they are of a more special character, as they refer to the particular objects to be cleansed, such as the house, the fire, the water, the earth, the animals, the plants, the man defiled with the dead. Each incantation consists of two parts, a line from the Gâthas which alludes, or rather is made to allude, to the particular object (§§ 4, 5, 6, 7), and a general exorcism, in the usual dialect (§§ 8–20), which is the same for all the objects.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda! most beneficent spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? how the fire? how the water? how the earth? how the cow? how the tree? how the faithful man and the faithful woman? how the stars? how the moon? how the sun? how the boundless light? how all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt chant the cleansing words, and the house shall be clean; clean shall be the fire, clean the water, clean the earth, clean the cow, clean the tree, clean the faithful man and the faithful woman, clean the stars, clean the moon, clean the sun, clean the boundless

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light, clean all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

3 (7). ['So thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words]; thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya five times: "The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

'The Ahuna-Vairya preserves the person of man:

'"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

'"Kem-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me?" &c.

'"Ke verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching?" &c.

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta!" &c.[1]

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4 (9). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the house, say these words aloud: "As long as the sickness lasts my great protector [is he who teaches virtue to the perverse][2]."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the fire, say these words aloud: "Thy fire, first of all, do we approach with worship, O Ahura Mazda[3]!"

5 (13). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the water, say these words aloud: "Waters we worship, the Maêkaiñti waters, the Hebvaiñti waters, the Fravazah waters[4]."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the earth, say these

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[1] As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

[2] Yasna XLIX, 1. The allusion is not quite clear. This line was recited by the Genius of the sky at the moment when Ahriman was invading the sky (Gr. Bd.) Perhaps the small house of man is compared here with that large house, the world.

[3] Yasna XXXVI, 1. [4] Yasna XXXVIII, 3.

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words aloud: "This earth we worship, this earth with the women, this earth which bears us and those women who are thine, O Ahura[1]!"

6 (17). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the cow, say these words aloud: "The best of all works we will fulfil while we order both the learned and the unlearned, both masters and servants to secure for the cattle a good resting-place and fodder[2]."

'If thou wantest to cleanse the trees, say these words aloud: "For him[3], as a reward, Mazda made the plants grow up[4]."

7 (21). 'If thou wantest to cleanse the faithful man or the faithful woman, say these words aloud: "May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come hither, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura[5]!"

8 (25). 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words. Thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya eight times:—

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[1] Yasna XXXVIII, 1. 'Who are thine,' that is, 'who are thy wives.'

[2] Yasna XXXV, 4. 'Let those excellent deeds be done for the behoof of cattle, that is to say, let stables be made, and water and fodder be given' (Comm.)

[3] 'For him,' that is to say, to feed him; also 'out of him;' for it was from the body of the first-born bull that, after his death, grew up all kinds of plants (Bund. IV).

[4] Yasna XLVIII, 6. Cf. Farg. XVII, 5.

[5] Yasna LIV, 1. Cf. Farg. XX, 11. There is no special spell for the cleansing of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the boundless light (see §§ 1, 2), because they are not defiled by the unclean one, they are only pained by seeing him (Farg. IX, 41); as soon as he is clean, they are freed from the pain.

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'"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

'"Kem-nâ mazdâ:—Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda?" &c.

'"Ke verethrem-gâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me?" &c.

'"Who is the victorious?" &c.

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!" &c.[1]

9 (26). 'I drive away Aêshma[2], I drive away the Nasu, I drive away direct defilement, I drive away indirect defilement.

['I drive away Khrû, I drive away Khrûighni[3].

'I drive away Bûidhi, I drive away the offspring of Bûidhi[4].

'I drive away Kundi, I drive away the offspring of Kundi[5].]

'I drive away the gaunt Bûshyãsta, I drive away the long-handed Bûshyãsta[6]; [I drive away Mûidhi[7], I drive away Kapasti[8].]

'I drive away the Pairika[9] that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. I drive away the uncleanness that

[1] As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

[2] See Farg. X, 13.

[3] Khrû and Khrûighni are not met with elsewhere; their names mean, apparently, 'wound' and 'the wounding one.' They may have been mere names or epithets of Aêshma khrûidru, 'Aêshma of the murderous spear.'

[4] Bûidhi may be another pronunciation of Bûiti (see Farg. XIX, 1).

[5] Kundi is very likely the same as Kunda (Vd. XIX, 41, 138) who is the riding-stock of the sorcerers (Bd. XXVIII, 42).

[6] See Farg. XVIII, 16.

[7] A demon unknown. Perhaps Intoxication.

[8] Unknown. Perhaps Colocynth, the type of the bitter plants

[9] A female demon, the modern Parî, often associated with Yâtu, 'the wizard.'

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comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

10 (32). 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

11 (33). 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant four Ahuna-Vairyas:—

'"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

'"Kem-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me?" &c.

'"Ke verethrem-gâ:—Who is the victorious?" &c.

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda!" &c.[1]

12 (34). 'Aêshma is driven away; away the Nasu; away direct defilement, away indirect defilement.

['Khrû is driven away, away Khrûighni; away Bûidhi, away the offspring of Bûidhi; away Kundi, away the offspring of Kundi.]

'The gaunt Bûshyãsta is driven away; away Bûshyãsta, the long-handed; [away Mûidhi, away Kapasti.]

'The Pairika is driven away that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree. The uncleanness is driven away that comes upon the fire, upon the water, upon the earth, upon the cow, upon the tree.

[1] As in Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

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13 (40). 'Thou art driven away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water, from the earth, from the cow, from the tree, from the faithful man and from the faithful woman, from the stars, from the moon, from the sun, from the boundless light, from all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

14 (41). 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant "Mazdâ ad môi" four times: "O Mazda! say unto me the excellent words and the excellent works, that through the good thought and the holiness of him who offers thee the due meed of praise, thou mayest, O Lord! make the world of Resurrection appear, at thy will, under thy sovereign rule[1]."

15. 'I drive away Aêshma, I drive away the Nasu,' &c.[2]

16. 'I drive thee away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.[3]

17. 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant the Airyama Ishyô four times: "May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come hither!"' &c.[4]

18. 'Aêshma is driven away; away the Nasu,' &c.[5]

19. 'Thou art driven away, O mischievous Angra Mainyu! from the fire, from the water,' &c.[6]

20. 'Then thou shalt say these victorious, most healing words; thou shalt chant five Ahuna-Vairyas:—

'"Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness," &c.

'"Kem-nâ mazdâ:—Whom hast thou placed to protect me?" &c.

[1] Yasna XXXIV, 15.
[2] The rest as in § 9.
[3] The rest as in § 10.
[4] As in § 7.
[5] As in § 12.
[6] As in § 13.

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'"Ke verethrem-gâ:—Who is he who will smite the fiend?" &c.[1]

'"Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!"'

FARGARD XII.

This chapter is found only in the Vendîdâd Sâda; it is missing in the Zend-Pahlavi Vendîdâd. This is owing, as it seems, only to the accidental loss of some folios in the one manuscript from which all the copies as yet known have been derived; and, in fact, even in the most ancient manuscripts the following Fargard is numbered the thirteenth (Westergaard, Zend-Avesta, preface, p. 5).

The directions in the preceding chapter are general, and do not depend on the relationship of the faithful with the deceased person; whereas those in this Fargard are of a special character, and apply only to the near relatives of the dead. Their object is to determine how long the time of 'staying' (upaman) should last for different relatives. What is meant by this word is not explained; but, as the word upaman is usually employed to indicate the staying of the unclean in the Armêst-gâh, apart from the faithful and from every clean object, that word upaman seems to show a certain period of mourning, marked by abstention from usual avocations.

The length of the upaman varies with the degrees of relationship; and at every degree it is double for relations who have died in a state of sin (that is, with a sin not redeemed by the Patet: cf. p. 135, note 1). The relative length of the upaman is as follows:—

For the head of a family (§ 7): 6 months (or a year).

First degree. { For father or mother (§ 1) / For son or daughter (§ 3) / For brother or sister (§ 5) } 30 days (or 60).

[1] See Farg. VIII, 19, 20.

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Second degree.	For grandfather or grandmother (§ 9) / For grandson or granddaughter (§ 11)	25 days (or 50).
Third degree.	For uncle or aunt (§ 13):	20 days (or 40).
Fourth degree.	For male cousin or female cousin (§ 15)	15 days (or 30).
Fifth degree.	For the son or daughter of a cousin (§ 17)	10 days (or 20).
Sixth degree.	For the grandson or the granddaughter of a cousin (§ 19)	5 days (or 10).

1. If one's father or mother dies, how long shall they stay [in mourning], the son for his father, the daughter for her mother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners[1]?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

2 (5). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters[2]; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter[3], O Spitama Zarathustra!'

[1] How long if the dead person died in a state of holiness (a dahma)? How long if in the state of a Peshôtanu?

[2] This refers probably to the sacrifice that is offered on each of the three days that follow the death of a Zoroastrian for the salvation of his soul.

[3] All the other objects over which the Amesha-Spe*n*tas preside (such as the cow, the metals, &c.)

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3 (9). If one's son or daughter dies, how long shall they stay, the father for his son, the mother for her daughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

4 (13). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

5 (17). If one's brother or sister dies, how long shall they stay, the brother for his brother, the sister for her sister? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay thirty days for the righteous, sixty days for the sinners.'

6 (21). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

7 (25). If the master of the house[1] dies, or if the

[1] The chief of the family, the paterfamilias. The Zoroastrian family is organised on the patriarchal system.

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mistress of the house dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They[1] shall stay six months for the righteous, a year for the sinners.'

8 (28). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

9 (31). If one's grandfather or grandmother dies, how long shall they stay, the grandson for his grandfather, the granddaughter for her grandmother? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

10 (34). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

[1] All the familia, both relatives and servants.

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11 (37). If one's grandson or granddaughter dies, how long shall they stay, the grandfather for his grandson, the grandmother for her granddaughter? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty-five days for the righteous, fifty days for the sinners.'

12 (40). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter, O Spitama Zarathu*s*tra!'

13 (43). If one's uncle or aunt dies, how long shall they stay, the nephew for his uncle, the niece for her aunt? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay twenty days for the righteous, forty days for the sinners.'

14 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spe*n*tas may enter, O Spitama Zarathu*s*tra!'

15 (48). If one's male cousin or female cousin

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dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay fifteen days for the righteous, thirty days for the sinners.'

16 (50). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

17 (53). If the son or the daughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay ten days for the righteous, twenty days for the sinners.'

18 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

19 (58). If the grandson of a cousin or the granddaughter of a cousin dies, how long shall they stay? How long for the righteous? How long for the sinners?

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall stay five days for the righteous, ten days for the sinners.'

20 (60). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How shall I cleanse the house? How shall it be clean again?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'You shall wash your bodies three times, you shall wash your clothes three times, you shall chant the Gâthas three times; you shall offer up a sacrifice to my Fire, you shall bind up the bundles of Baresma, you shall bring libations to the good waters; then the house shall be clean, and then the waters may enter, then the fire may enter, and then the Amesha-Spentas may enter, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

21 (63). If a man dies, of whatever race he is, who does not belong to the true faith, or the true law[1], what part of the creation of the good spirit does he directly defile? What part does he indirectly defile?

22[2] (65). Ahura Mazda answered: 'No more than a frog does whose venom is dried up, and that has been dead more than a year. Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! such wicked, two-legged ruffian as an ungodly Ashemaogha, directly defiles the creatures of the Good Spirit, and indirectly defiles them.

23 (70). 'Whilst alive he smites the water; whilst alive he blows out the fire; whilst alive he carries off the cow; whilst alive he smites the faithful man with a deadly blow, that parts the soul from the body; not so will he do when dead.

24 (71). 'Whilst alive, indeed, O Spitama Zarathustra! such wicked, two-legged ruffian as an

[1] An infidel, whether he is a relation or not.

[2] §§ 22–24 = Farg. V, 36–38, text and notes.

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ungodly Ashemaogha, robs the faithful man of the full possession of his food, of his clothing, of his wood, of his bed, of his vessels; not so will he do when dead.'

FARGARD XIII.

The Dog.

I (1–7). The dog of Ormazd and the dog of Ahriman.

(a. 1–4). Holiness of the dog Vanghâpara ('the hedgehog').

(b. 5–7). Hatefulness of the dog Zairimyangura ('the tortoise').

II (8–16). The several kinds of dogs. Penalties for the murder of a dog.

III (17–19). On the duties of the shepherd's dog and the house-dog.

IV (20–28). On the food due to the dog.

V (29–38). On the mad dog and the dog diseased; how they are to be kept, and cured.

VI (39–40). On the excellence of the dog.

VII (41–43). On the wolf-dog.

VIII (44–48). On the virtues and vices of the dog.

IX (49–50). Praise of the dog.

X (50–54). The water-dog.

This Fargard is the only complete fragment, still in existence, of a large canine literature: a whole section of the Ganbâ-sar-nigat Nask was dedicated to the dog (the so-called Fargard Pasûs-haûrvastân; West, Dînkard (Pahlavi Texts, IV), VIII, 23; 24, 5; 33, &c.)

I a.

1. Which is the good creature among the creatures of the Good Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Evil Spirit?

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the

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dog Vanghâpara[1], which evil-speaking people call the Dużaka[2]; this is the good creature among the creatures of the Good Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Evil Spirit.

3 (6). 'And whosoever, O Zarathuśtra! shall kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Dużaka, kills his own soul for nine generations, nor shall he find a way over the *K*inva*d* bridge[3], unless he has, while alive, atoned for his sin[4].'

4 (10). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man kill the dog with the prickly back, with the long and thin muzzle, the dog Vanghâpara, which evil-speaking people call the Dużaka, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

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[1] The hedgehog. 'The hedgehog, according to the Bund. XIX, 28, is created in opposition to the ant that carries off grain, as it says that the hedgehog, every time that it voids urine into an ant's nest, will destroy a thousand ants' (Bund. XIX, 28; cf. Saddar 57). When the Arabs conquered Saistan, the inhabitants submitted on the condition that hedgehogs should not be killed nor hunted for, as they got rid of the vipers which swarm in that country. Every house had its hedgehog (Yaqout, Dictionnaire de la Perse, p. 303). Plutarch counts the hedgehog amongst the animals sacred to the Magi (Quaestiones Conviviales, IV, 5, 2: *τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Ζωροάστρου μάγους τιμᾷν μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὸν χερσαῖον ἐχῖνον*).

[2] Dużaka is the popular name of the hedgehog (Pers. *suza*). It is not without importance which name is given to a being: 'When called by its high name, it is powerful' (Comm.); cf. § 6, and Farg. XVIII, 15.

[3] The bridge leading to Paradise; see Farg. XIX, 30.

[4] Cf. § 54. Frâmjî translates: 'He cannot atone for it in his life even by performing a sacrifice to Sraosha' (cf. Farg. IX, 56, text and note).

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'A thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

I b.

5 (13). Which is the evil creature among the creatures of the Evil Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Good Spirit?

6 (15). Ahura Mazda answered: 'The daêva Zairimyangura[1], which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka[2], this is the evil creature among the creatures of the Evil Spirit that from midnight till the sun is up goes and kills thousands of the creatures of the Good Spirit.

7 (18). 'And whosoever, O Zarathustra! shall kill the daêva Zairimyangura, which evil-speaking people call the Zairimyâka, his sins in thought, word, and deed are redeemed as they would be by a Patet; his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for[3].

II.

8 (21). 'Whosoever shall smite either a shepherd's dog, or a house-dog, or a Vohunazga dog[4], or a trained dog[5], his soul when passing to the other world, shall fly[6] howling louder and more sorely grieved than the sheep does in the lofty forest where the wolf ranges.

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[1] The tortoise (Frâmjî and Rivâyats).

[2] 'When not so called it is less strong' (Comm.) Zairimyâka is a lucky name, and means, as it seems, who lives in verdure; Zairimyangura seems to mean 'the verdure-devourer.'

[3] Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

[4] See § 19, n. 2.

[5] A hunting-dog.

[6] 'From Paradise' (Comm.)

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9 (24). 'No soul will come and meet his departing soul and help it, howling and grieved in the other world; nor will the dogs that keep the [*Kinvad*] bridge[1] help his departing soul howling and grieved in the other world.

10 (26). 'If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away [sheep] from the fold, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the loss, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding[2].

11 (31). 'If a man shall smite a house-dog so that it becomes unfit for work, if he shall cut off its ear or its paw, and thereupon a thief or a wolf break in and carry away [anything] from the house, without the dog giving any warning, the man shall pay for the loss, and he shall pay for the wound of the dog as for wilful wounding[2].'

12 (36). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a shepherd's dog, so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Eight hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, eight hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.'

13 (39). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a house-dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes

[1] See Farg. XIX, 30.

[2] Baodhô-varsta; see Farg. VII, 38 n.

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with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (42). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a Vohunazga dog so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Six hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, six hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

15 (45). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall smite a Tauruna dog[1] so that it gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Five hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, five hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16 (48). 'This is the penalty for the murder of a Gazu dog, of a Vîzu dog[2], of a porcupine dog[3], of a sharp-toothed weasel[4], of a swift-running fox; this is the penalty for the murder of any of the creatures of the Good Spirit belonging to the dog kind, except the water-dog[5].'

III.

17 (49). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the shepherd's dog?

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[1] Tauruna seems to be another name of the trained or hunting-dog (cf. § 8 compared with §§ 12–15), though tradition translates it 'a dog not older than four months.'

[2] Unknown. Cf. V, 31, 32. [3] A porcupine. Cf. V, 31.

[4] A weasel. Cf. V, 33.

[5] The otter. 'For the penalty in that case is most heavy' (Comm.) Cf. § 52 seq. and Farg. XIV.

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Ahura Mazda answered: 'He comes and goes a Yugyêsti[1] round about the fold, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

18 (51). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the house-dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He comes and goes a Hâthra round about the house, watching for the thief and the wolf.'

19 (53). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the place of the Vohunazga dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He claims none of those talents, and only seeks for his subsistence[2].'

IV.

20 (55). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a shepherd's dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of the first rank[3].'

21 (57). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a house-dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself

[1] A distance of sixteen Hâthras (16,000 paces).

[2] 'He cannot do the same as the shepherd's dog and the house-dog do, but he catches Khrafstras and smites the Nasu' (Comm.) It is 'the dog without a master' (gharîb), the vagrant dog; he is held in great esteem (§ 22), and is one of the dogs which can be used for the Sag-dîd.

[3] Invited as a guest.

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guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a master of a house of middle rank.'

22 (59). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a holy man, who should come to his house in the character of a priest[1].'

23 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man give bad food to a Tauruna dog, of what sin does he make himself guilty?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He makes himself guilty of the same guilt as though he should serve bad food to a young man, born of pious parents, and who can already answer for his deeds[2].'

24 (63). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a shepherd's dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[3].'

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[1] The Vohunazga dog has no domicile, therefore he is not compared with the master of a house, but with a wandering friar, who lives on charity.

[2] Probably, 'Who has performed the nû-zûd, fifteen years old.' The young dog enters the community of the faithful at the age of four months, when he is fit for the Sag-dîd and can expel the Nasu.

[3] 'I also saw the soul of a man, whom demons, just like dogs, ever tear. That man gives bread to the dogs, and they eat it not; but they ever devour the breast, legs, belly, and thighs of the man. And I asked thus: What sin was committed by this body, whose soul suffers so severe a punishment? Srôsh the pious and Âtarô the angel said thus: This is the soul of that wicked man who, in

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25 (66). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a house-dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

26 (69). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a Vohunazga dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

27 (72). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall give bad food to a Tauruna dog, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

28 (75). 'For in this material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! it is the dog, of all the creatures of the Good Spirit, that most quickly decays into age, while not eating near eating people, and watching goods none of which it receives. Bring ye unto him milk and fat with meat[1]; this is the right food for the dog[2].'

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the world, kept back the food of the dogs of shepherds and householders; or beat and killed them' (Ardâ Vîrâf XLVIII, translated by Haug).

[1] The same food as recommended for the dog by Columella (Ordacea farina cum sero, VII, 12; cf. Virgil, Pasce sero pingui, Georg. III, 406).

[2] 'Whenever one eats bread one must put aside three mouthfuls and give them to the dog . . . for among all the poor there is none poorer than the dog' (Saddar 31).

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V.

29 (80). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a mad dog that bites without barking, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

30 (82). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie thereto a muzzle, an *asti*[1] thick if the wood be hard, two *astis* thick if it be soft. To that collar they shall tie it; by the two sides[2] of the collar they shall tie it.

31 (86). 'If they shall not do so, and the mad dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, the dog shall pay for the wound of the wounded as for wilful murder[3].

32 (88). 'If the dog shall smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his right ear.

'If he shall smite another sheep or wound another man, they shall cut off his left ear.

33 (90). 'If he shall smite a third sheep or wound a third man, they shall make a cut in his right foot[4]. If he shall smite a fourth sheep or wound a fourth man, they shall make a cut in his left foot.

34 (92). 'If he shall for the fifth time smite a sheep or wound a man, they shall cut off his tail.

[1] A measure of unknown amount. Frâmjî reads *isti*, 'a brick' thick.

[2] By the left and the right side of it.

[3] According to Solon's law, the dog who had bitten a man was to be delivered to him tied up to a block four cubits long (Plutarchus, Solon 24). The Book of Deuteronomy orders the ox who has killed a man to be put to death.

[4] 'They only cut off a piece of flesh from the foot' (Brouillons d'Anquetil).

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'Therefore they shall tie a muzzle to the collar; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie it. If they shall not do so, and the mad dog that bites without barking, smite a sheep or wound a man, he shall pay for the wound of the wounded as for wilful murder.'

35 (97). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a mad dog, who has no scent, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall attend him to heal him, in the same manner as they would do for one of the faithful.'

36 (100). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If they try to heal him and fail, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

37 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall put a wooden collar around his neck, and they shall tie thereto a muzzle, an *a*sti thick if the wood be hard, two *a*stis thick if it be soft. To that collar they shall tie it; by the two sides of the collar they shall tie it.

38 (102). 'If they shall not do so, the scentless dog may fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, and come to grief: if he come to grief so, they shall be therefore Peshôtanus.

VI.

39 (106). 'The dog, O Spitama Zarathustra! I, Ahura Mazda, have made self-clothed and self-shod; watchful and wakeful; and sharp-toothed; born to take his food from man and to watch over man's goods. I, Ahura Mazda, have made the dog strong

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of body against the evil-doer, when sound of mind and watchful over your goods.

40 (112). 'And whosoever shall awake at his voice, O Spitama Zarathustra! neither shall the thief nor the wolf carry anything from his house, without his being warned; the wolf shall be smitten and torn to pieces; he is driven away, he melts away like snow[1].'

VII.

41 (115). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which of the two wolves deserves more to be killed, the one that a he-dog begets of a she-wolf, or the one that a he-wolf begets of a she-dog?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Of these two wolves, the one that a he-dog begets of a she-wolf deserves more to be killed than the one that a he-wolf begets of a she-dog.

42 (117). 'For the dogs born therefrom fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house-dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such dogs are more murderous, more mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other dogs[2].

43 (121). 'And the wolves born therefrom fall on the shepherd's dog, on the house-dog, on the Vohunazga dog, on the trained dog, and destroy the folds; such wolves are more murderous, more

[1] Doubtful.

[2] 'Ultroque gravis succedere tigrim
Ausa canis, majore tulit de sanguine foetum.
Sed praeceps virtus ipsa venabitur aula:
Ille tibi et pecudum multo cum sanguine crescet.'
Gratius Faliscus, Cyneg. 165 seq.

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mischievous, more destructive to the folds than any other wolves.

Sprüche 4427.

VIII.

44 (124). 'A dog has the characters of eight sorts of people:—

'He has the character of a priest,

'He has the character of a warrior,

'He has the character of a husbandman,

'He has the character of a strolling singer,

'He has the character of a thief,

'He has the character of a disu,

'He has the character of a courtezan,

'He has the character of a child.

45 (126). 'He eats the refuse, like a priest[1]; he is easily satisfied[2], like a priest; he is patient, like a priest; he wants only a small piece of bread, like a priest; in these things he is like unto a priest.

'He marches in front, like a warrior; he fights for the beneficent cow, like a warrior[3]; he goes first out of the house, like a warrior[4]; in these things he is like unto a warrior.

46 (135). 'He is watchful and sleeps lightly, like a husbandman; he goes first out of the house, like a husbandman[5]; he returns last into the house, like a husbandman[6]; in these things he is like unto a husbandman.

'He is fond of singing, like a strolling singer[7];

[1] A wandering priest (see p. 161, n. 1).

[2] 'Good treatment makes him joyous' (Comm.)

[3] 'He keeps away the wolf and the thief' (Comm.)

[4] This clause is, as it seems, repeated here by mistake from § 46.

[5] When taking the cattle out of the stables.

[6] When bringing the cattle back to the stables.

[7] The so-called Looris لوری of nowadays.

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he wounds him who gets too near[1], like a strolling singer; he is ill-trained, like a strolling singer; he is changeful, like a strolling singer; in these things he is like unto a strolling singer.

47 (143). 'He is fond of darkness, like a thief; he prowls about in darkness, like a thief; he is a shameless eater, like a thief; he is therefore an unfaithful keeper, like a thief[2]; in these things he is like unto a thief.

'He is fond of darkness like a disu[3]; he prowls about in darkness, like a disu; he is a shameless eater, like a disu; he is therefore an unfaithful keeper, like a disu; in these things he is like unto a disu.

48 (153). 'He is fond of singing, like a courtezan; he wounds him who gets too near, like a courtezan; he roams along the roads, like a courtezan; he is ill-trained, like a courtezan; he is changeful, like a courtezan[4]; in these things he is like unto a courtezan.

'He is fond of sleep, like a child; he is tender like snow[5], like a child; he is full of tongue, like a child; he digs the earth with his paws[5], like a child; in these things he is like unto a child.

---

[1] He insults or robs the passer by, like a Loori.—'The Looris wander in the world, seeking their life, bed-fellows and fellow-travellers of the dogs and the wolves, ever on the roads to rob day and night' (Firdausi).

[2] 'When one trusts him with something, he eats it up' (Comm.)

[3] According to Frâmjî, 'a wild beast.'

[4] The description of the courtezan follows closely that of the singer: in the East a public songstress is generally a prostitute. Loori means both a singer and a prostitute.

[5] Doubtful.

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IX.

49 (163). 'If those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house-dog, pass by any of my houses, let them never be kept away from it.

'For no house could subsist on the earth made by Ahura, but for those two dogs of mine, the shepherd's dog and the house-dog[1].'

X.

50 (166). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When a dog dies, with marrow and seed[2] dried up, whereto does his ghost go?

51 (167). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It passes to the spring of the waters[3], O Spitama Zarathustra! and there out of them two water-dogs are formed: out of every thousand dogs and every thousand she-dogs, a couple is formed, a water-dog and a water she-dog[4].

52 (170). 'He who kills a water-dog brings about a drought that dries up pastures.

'Until then, O Spitama Zarathustra! sweetness and

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[1] 'But for the dog not a single head of cattle would remain in existence' (Saddar 31).

[2] Marrow is the seat of life, the spine is 'the column and the spring of life' (Yt. X, 71); the sperm comes from it (Bundahis XVI). The same theory prevailed in India, where the sperm is called m*aggâ*-samudbhava, 'what is born from marrow;' it was followed by Plato (Timaeus 74, 91; cf. Censorinus, De die natali, 5), and disproved by Aristotle (De Part. Anim. III, 7).

[3] To the spring of Ardvî Sûra, the goddess of waters.

[4] There is therefore in a single water-dog as much life and holiness as in a thousand dogs. This accounts for the following.—The water-dog (udra upâpa; Persian sag-âbî) is the otter.

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fatness would flow out from that land and from those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass.'

53 (171). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are sweetness and fatness to come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass?

54, 55 (172). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Sweetness and fatness will never come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass, until the murderer of the water-dog has been smitten to death on the spot, and the holy soul of the dog has been offered up a sacrifice, for three days and three nights, with fire blazing, with Baresma tied up, and with Haoma prepared [1].

56 (174). ['Then sweetness and fatness will come back again to that land and to those fields, with health and healing, with fulness and increase and growth, and a growing of corn and grass [2].']

FARGARD XIV.

This Fargard is nothing more than an appendix to the last clauses in the preceding Fargard (§ 50 seq.) How the murder of a water-dog (an otter) may be atoned for is described in it at full length. The extravagance of the penalties prescribed may well make it doubtful whether the legislation of the Vendîdâd had ever any substantial existence in practice. These exorbitant prescriptions seem to be intended only to impress on the mind of the faithful the heinousness of the offence to be avoided.

[1] See p. 136, n. 1.

[2] Cf. Farg. IX, 53–57.

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1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! He who smites one of those water-dogs that are born one from a thousand dogs and a thousand she-dogs [1], so that he gives up the ghost and the soul parts from the body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?'

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He shall pay ten thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ten thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana [2].

'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda [3] ten thousand loads of hard, well dried, well examined [4] wood, to redeem his own soul.

3 (6). 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire of Ahura Mazda ten thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohû-gaona, Vohû-kereti, Hadhânaêpata [5], or any sweet-scented plant, to redeem his own soul.

4 (7). 'He shall godly and piously tie ten thousand bundles of Baresma, to redeem his own soul.

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[1] See preceding Fargard, § 51.

[2] He shall pay 50 tanâfûhrs (= 15,000 istîrs = 60,000 dirhems). 'If he can afford it, he will atone in the manner stated in the Avesta; if he cannot afford it, it will be sufficient to perform a complete Izasnê (sacrifice),' (Comm.)

[3] To the altar of the Bahrâm fire.

[4] 'It is forbidden to take any ill-smelling thing to the fire and to kindle it thereon; it is forbidden to kindle green wood, and even though the wood were hard and dry, one must examine it three times, lest there may be any hair or any unclean matter upon it' (Gr. Rav.) Although the pious Ardâ Vîrâf had always taken the utmost care never to put on the fire any wood but such as was seven years old, yet, when he entered Paradise, Atar, the genius of fire, showed him reproachfully a large tank full of the water which that wood had exuded (see Ardâ Vîrâf X).

[5] See above, p. 96, n. 1.

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'He shall offer up to the Good Waters ten thousand Zaothra libations with the Haoma and the milk, cleanly prepared and well strained, cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, and mixed with the roots of the tree known as Hadhâ-naêpata, to redeem his own soul.

5 (9). 'He shall kill ten thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly. He shall kill ten thousand Kahrpus, who are snakes with the shape of a dog[1]. He shall kill ten thousand tortoises[2]. He shall kill ten thousand land-frogs[3]; he shall kill ten thousand water-frogs. He shall kill ten thousand corn-carrying ants[4];

[1] 'Mâr bânak snakes: they are dog-like, because they sit on their hindparts' (Comm.) The cat (gurba=Kahrpu) seems to be the animal intended. In a paraphrase of this passage in a Parsi Ravâet, the cat is numbered amongst the Khrafstras which it is enjoined to kill to redeem a sin (India Office Library, VIII, 13); cf. G. du Chinon, p. 462: 'Les animaux que les Gaures ont en horreur sont les serpents, les couleuvres, les lezars, et autres de cette espece, les crapaux, les grenouïlles, les écrevisses, les rats et souris, et sur tout le chat.'

[2] Cf. Farg. XIII, 6–7.

[3] 'Those that can go out of water and live on the dry ground' (Comm.) 'Pour les grenouïlles et crapaux, ils disent que ce sont ceux (eux?) qui sont cause de ce que les hommes meurent, gâtans les eaus où ils habitent continuellement, et que d'autant plus qu'il y en a dans le païs, d'autant plus les eaus causent-elles des maladies et enfin la mort,' G. du Chinon, p. 465.

[4] Herodotus already mentions the war waged by the Magi against snakes and ants (I, 140).—'Un jour que j'étois surpris de la guerre qu'ils font aux fourmis, ils me dirent que ces animaux ne faisaient que voler par des amas des grains plus qu'il n'étoit nécessaire pour leur nourriture,' G. du Chinon, p. 464. Firdausi protested against the proscription: 'Do no harm to the corn-carrying ant; a living thing it is, and its life is dear to it.' The celebrated high-priest of the Parsis, the late Mooka Firooz, entered those lines into his Pand Nâmah, which may betoken better days for the wise little creature.

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he shall kill ten thousand ants of the small, venomous mischievous kind [1].

6 (16). 'He shall kill ten thousand worms of those that live on dirt; he shall kill ten thousand raging flies [2].

'He shall fill up ten thousand holes for the unclean [3].

'He shall godly and piously give to godly men [4] twice the set of seven implements for the fire [5], to redeem his own soul, namely:—

7 (20). 'The two answering implements for fire [6]; a broom [7]; a pair of tongs; a pair of round bellows extended at the bottom, contracted at the top; a sharp-edged sharp-pointed [8] adze; a sharp-toothed sharp-pointed saw; by means of which the worshippers of Mazda procure wood for the fire of Ahura Mazda.

8 (26). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of the priestly instruments of which the priests make use, to redeem his own soul, namely: The Astra [9]; the meat-vessel; the Paitidâna [10]; the

[1] Perhaps: 'of the small, venomous kind, with a mischievous track' (Bund. XIX, 28: 'when the grain-carrier travels over the earth, it produces a hollow track: when the hedgehog travels over it, the track goes away from it and it becomes level:' cf. Farg. XIII, 2, note).

[2] Corpse-flies; cf. Farg. VII, 2.

[3] 'The holes at which the unclean are washed' (Comm.; cf. Farg. IX, 6 seq.)

[4] To priests. [5] For the sacred fire.

[6] Two receptacles, one for the wood, another for the incense.

[7] To cleanse the Atash-dân or fire-vessel (Yasna IX, 1).

[8] Literally, 'sharp-kneed.' [9] The Aspahê-astra.

[10] As everything that goes out of man is unclean, his breath defiles all that it touches; priests, therefore, while on duty, and even laymen, while praying or eating, must wear a mouth-veil, the

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Khrafstraghna[1]; the Sraoshô-karana[2]; the cup for the Myazda[3]; the cups for mixing and dividing[4]; the regular mortar[5]; the Haoma cups[6]; and the Baresma.

9 (32). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the war implements of which the warriors make use, to redeem his own soul;

'The first being a javelin, the second a sword, the third a club, the fourth a bow, the fifth a saddle with a quiver and thirty brass-headed arrows, the sixth a sling with arm-string and with thirty sling stones[7];

'The seventh a cuirass, the eighth a hauberk[8], the ninth a tunic[9], the tenth a helmet, the eleventh a girdle, the twelfth a pair of greaves.

10 (41). 'He shall godly and piously give to godly men a set of all the implements of which the

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Paitidâna (Parsi Penôm), consisting 'of two pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to, at least, two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head' (Haug, Essays, 2nd ed. p. 243, n. 1; cf. Comm. ad Farg. XVIII, 1, and Anquetil II, 530).

[1] The 'Khrafstra-killer;' an instrument for killing snakes, &c. It is a stick with a leather thong at its end, something like the Indian fly-flap.

[2] See General Introduction. [3] Doubtful.

[4] The cup in which the juice of the hôm and of the urvarâm (the twigs of hadhâ-naêpata which are pounded together with the hôm) is received from the mortar (Comm.)

[5] The mortar with its pestle.

[6] The cup on which twigs of Haoma are laid before being pounded, the so-called tashtah (Anquetil II, 533); 'some say, the hôm-strainer' [a saucer with nine holes], Comm.

[7] These are six offensive arms: the next six are defensive arms.—Cf. W. Jackson: Herodotus VII, 61, or the Arms of the Ancient Persians illustrated from Iranian Sources; New York, 1894.

[8] 'Going from the helm to the cuirass' (Comm.)

[9] 'Under the cuirass' (Comm.)

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husbandmen make use, to redeem his own soul, namely: A plough with yoke and . . .[1]; a goad for ox; a mortar of stone; a round-headed hand-mill for grinding corn;

11 (48). 'A spade for digging and tilling; one measure of silver and one measure of gold.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How much silver?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a stallion.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How much gold?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The price of a he-camel.

12 (54). 'He shall godly and piously procure a rill of running water[2] for godly husbandmen, to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large is the rill?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'The depth of a dog, and the breadth of a dog[3].

13 (57). 'He shall godly and piously give a piece of arable land to godly men, to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large is the piece of land?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'As much as can be watered with such a rill divided into two canals[4].

14 (60). 'He shall godly and piously procure for godly men a stable for oxen, with nine hâthras and nine nematas[5], to redeem his own soul.'

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[1] Yuyô-semi ayazhâna pairi-darezâna.

[2] The most precious of all gifts in such a dry place as Iran. Water is obtained either through canals of derivation or through undergound canals (kârêz, kanât).

[3] Which is estimated 'a foot deep, a foot broad' (Comm.)

[4] Doubtful. [5] Meaning unknown.

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O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How large is the stable?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It shall have twelve alleys[1] in the largest part of the house, nine alleys in the middle part, six alleys in the smallest part.

'He shall godly and piously give to godly men goodly beds with sheets and cushions, to redeem his own soul.

15 (64). 'He shall godly and piously give in marriage to a godly man a virgin maid, whom no man has known[2], to redeem his own soul.'

O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What sort of maid?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'A sister or a daughter of his, at the age of puberty, with ear-rings in her ears, and past her fifteenth year.

16 (67). 'He shall godly and piously give to holy men twice seven head of small cattle, to redeem his own soul.

'He shall bring up twice seven whelps.

'He shall throw twice seven bridges over canals.

17 (70). 'He shall put into repair twice nine stables that are out of repair.

'He shall cleanse twice nine dogs from stipti, anâiriti, and vyangura[3], and all the diseases that are produced on the body of a dog.

'He shall treat twice nine godly men to their fill of meat, bread, strong drink, and wine.

18 (73). 'This is the penalty, this is the atonement which saves the faithful man who submits to it, not him who does not submit to it. Such a

[1] Twelve ranks of stalls (?).

[2] Match-making is a good work (Farg. IV, 44).

[3] Meaning unknown.

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one shall surely be an inhabitant in the mansion of the Drug[1].'

FARGARD XV.

I (1–8). On five sins the commission of which makes the sinner a Peshôtanu.

II a (9–12). On unlawful unions and attempts to procure miscarriage.

II b (13–19). On the obligations of the illegitimate father towards the mother and the child.

III (20–45). On the treatment of a bitch big with young.

IV (46–51). On the breeding of dogs.

I.

1. How many are the sins that men commit and that, being committed and not confessed, nor atoned for, make their committer a Peshôtanu[2]?

2 (4). Ahura Mazda answered: 'There are five such sins, O holy Zarathustra! It is the first of these sins that men commit when a man teaches one of the faithful another faith, another law[3], a lower doctrine, and he leads him astray with a full knowledge and conscience of the sin: the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu.

3 (9). 'It is the second of these sins when a man gives bones too hard or food too hot to a shepherd's dog or to a house-dog;

4 (11). 'If the bones stick in the dog's teeth or stop in his throat; or if the food too hot burn his

[1] Cf. Farg. VIII, 107.

[2] That is to say: he shall receive two hundred strokes with the Aspahê-astra or the Sraoshô-karana; or pay three hundred istîrs.

[3] The Commentary has, 'that is, a creed that is not ours.'

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mouth or his tongue, he may come to grief thereby; if he come to grief thereby, the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu [1].

5 (16). 'It is the third of these sins when a man smites a bitch big with young or affrights her by running after her, or shouting or clapping with the hands;

6 (18). 'If the bitch fall into a hole, or a well, or a precipice, or a river, or a canal, she may come to grief thereby; if she come to grief thereby, the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu [2].

7 (22). 'It is the fourth of these sins when a man has intercourse with a woman who has the whites or sees the blood, the man that has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu [3].

8 (25). 'It is the fifth of these sins when a man has intercourse with a woman quick with child [4], whether the milk has already come to her breasts or has not yet come: she may come to grief thereby; if she come to grief thereby [5], the man who has done the deed becomes a Peshôtanu.

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[1] He who gives too hot food to a dog so as to burn his throat is margarzân (guilty of death); he who gives bones to a dog so as to tear his throat is margarzân (Gr. Rav. 639).

[2] If a bitch is big with young and a man shouts or throws stones at her, so that the whelps come to mischief and die, he is margarzân (Gr. Rav. 639).

[3] See Farg. XVI, 14 seq.

[4] When she has been pregnant for four months and ten days, as it is then that the child is formed and a soul is added to its body (Anquetil II, 563).

[5] Or better, 'if the child die.' 'If a man come to his wife [during her pregnancy] so that she is injured and bring forth a still-born child, he is margarzân' (Old Rav. 115 b).

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II a.

9 (30). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered[1], and she conceives by him, let her not, being ashamed of the people, produce in herself the menses, against the course of nature, by means of water and plants[2].

10 (34). 'And if the damsel, being ashamed of the people, shall produce in herself the menses against the course of nature, by means of water and plants, it is a fresh sin as heavy [as the first][3].

11 (36). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, let her not, being ashamed of the people, destroy the fruit in her womb.

12 (38). 'And if the damsel, being ashamed of the people, shall destroy the fruit in her womb, the sin is on both the father and herself, the murder

[1] 'Whether she has a husband in the house of her own parents or has none; whether she has entered from the house of her own parents into the house of a husband [depending on another chief of family] or has not' (Comm.)

[2] By means of drugs.

[3] 'It is a tanâfûhr sin for her: it is sin on sin' (the first sin being to have allowed herself to be seduced), Comm. 'If there has been no sin in her (if she has been forced), and if a man, knowing her shame, wants to take it off her, he shall call together her father, mother, sisters, brothers, husband, the servants, the menials, and the master and the mistress of the house, and he shall say, "This woman is with child by me, and I rejoice in it;" and they shall answer, "We know it, and we are glad that her shame is taken off her;" and he shall support her as a husband does' (Comm.)

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is on both the father and herself; both the father and herself shall pay the penalty for wilful murder[1].

II b.

13 (40). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, and she says, "I have conceived by thee;" and he replies, "Go then to the old woman[2] and apply to her for one of her drugs, that she may procure thee miscarriage;"

14 (43). 'And the damsel goes to the old woman and applies to her for one of her drugs, that she may procure her miscarriage; and the old woman brings her some Banga, or Shaêta, a drug that kills in the womb or one that expels out of the womb[3], or some other of the drugs that produce miscarriage and [the man says], "Cause thy fruit to perish!" and she causes her fruit to perish; the sin is on the head of all three, the man, the damsel, and the old woman.

15 (49). 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child be born.

16 (51). 'If he shall not support her, so that the child comes to grief[4], for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

[1] For baodhô-varsta; cf. VII, 38.

[2] The nurse (Frâmjî) or the midwife.

[3] Banga is bang or mang, a narcotic made from hempseed, shaêta is another sort of narcotic.

[4] And dies.

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17 (54). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If she be near her time, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

18 (56). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man come near unto a damsel, either dependent on the chief of the family or not dependent, either delivered [unto a husband] or not delivered, and she conceives by him, so long shall he support her, until the child be born [1].

19 (58). 'If he shall not support her [2] . . . .

'It lies with the faithful to look in the same way after every pregnant female, either two-footed or four-footed, two-footed woman or four-footed bitch.'

III.

20 (61). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If (a bitch [3]) be near her time, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

21 (63). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He whose house stands nearest, the care of supporting her is his [4]; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

22 (65). 'If he shall not support her, so that the

[1] § 18=§ 15.

[2] The sentence is left unfinished: Frâmjî fills it with the words in § 16, 'so that the child,' &c. It seems as if §§ 17, 18 were no part of the original text, and as if § 17 were a mere repetition of § 20, which being wrongly interpreted as referring to a woman would have brought about the repetition of § 15 as an answer. See § 20.

[3] The subject is wanting in the text: it is supplied from the Commentary and from the sense.

[4] 'The bitch is lying on the high road: the man whose house has its door nearest shall take care of her. If she dies, he shall carry her off [to dispose of the body according to the law]. One must support her for at least three nights: if one cannot support her any longer, one intrusts her to a richer man' (Comm. and Frâmjî).

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whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

23 (68). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for camels, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

24 (70). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for camels or whoso holds it[1], the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

25 (76). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

26 (77). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for horses, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

27 (78). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for horses or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

28 (81). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

29 (84). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a stable for oxen, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

30 (86). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the stable for oxen or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

[1] 'In pledge or for rent' (Frâmjî).

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31 (89). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

32 (92). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in a sheep-fold, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

33 (94). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who built the sheep-fold or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

34 (97). 'If he shall not support her so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

35 (100). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying on the earth-wall[1], which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

36 (102). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who erected the wall or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

37 (105). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

38 (108). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the moat[2], which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

39 (110). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who dug the moat or whoso holds it, the care of supporting

[1] The wall around the house.

[2] The moat before the earth-wall.

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her is his; so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born.

40 (112). 'If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.'

41 (113). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a bitch be near her time and be lying in the middle of a pasture-field, which is the worshipper of Mazda that shall support her?

42 (115). Ahura Mazda answered: 'He who sowed the pasture-field or whoso holds it, the care of supporting her is his; [so long shall he support her, until the whelps be born. If he shall not support her, so that the whelps come to grief, for want of proper support, he shall pay for it the penalty for wilful murder.]

43 (117). 'He shall take her to rest upon a litter of nemôvaⁿta or of any foliage fit for a litter; so long shall he support her, until the young dogs are capable of self-defence and self-subsistence.'

44 (122). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When are the dogs capable of self-defence and self-subsistence?

45 (123). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When they are able to run about in a circuit of twice seven houses around[1]. Then they may be let loose, whether it be winter or summer.

'Young dogs ought to be supported for six months[2], children for seven years[3].

[1] Probably the distance of one yugyêsti; cf. Farg. XIII, 17.

[2] Catulos sex mensibus primis dum corroborentur emitti non oportet ... (Columella, De re agraria, VII, 12).

[3] The age when they are invested with the Kosti and Sadere, and become members of the Zoroastrian community.

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'Âtar[1], the son of Ahura Mazda, watches as well (over a pregnant bitch) as he does over a woman.'

IV.

46 (127). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If worshippers of Mazda want to have a bitch so covered that the offspring shall be one of a strong nature, what shall they do?

47 (129). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall dig a hole in the earth, in the middle of the fold, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if the earth be soft

48 (131). 'They shall first tie up [the bitch] there, far from children and from the Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda[2], and they shall watch by her until a dog comes there from anywhere; then another again, and then a third again[3], each being kept apart from the former, lest they should assail one another.

49 (134)[4]. 'The bitch being thus covered by

[1] 'When a woman becomes pregnant in a house, it is necessary to make an endeavour so that there may be a continual fire in that house, and to maintain a good watch over it. And, when the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days—if they burn a fire it would be better—so that the demons and fiends may not be able to do any damage and harm; because, when a child is born, it is exceedingly delicate for those three days' (Saddar XVI; West, Pahlavi Texts, III, 277).

[2] 'From children, lest she shall bite them; from the fire, lest it shall hurt her' (Comm.)

[3] Cf. Justinus III, 4: maturiorem futuram conceptionem rati, si eam singulae per plures viros experirentur.

[4] The text of this and the following clause is corrupt, and the meaning is doubtful.

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three dogs, grows big with young, and the milk comes to her teats and she brings forth a young one that is born from several dogs.'

50 (135). If a man smite a bitch who has been covered by three dogs, and who has already milk, and who shall bring forth a young one born from several dogs, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

51 (137). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Seven hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seven hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

FARGARD XVI.

I (1–7). On the uncleanness of women during their sickness.

II (8–12). What is to be done if that state lasts too long.

III (13–18). Sundry laws relating to the same matter. See Introd. V, 12.

I.

1. O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If there be in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a woman who has the whites or sees blood, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'They shall clear the way[1] of the wood there, both plants and trees[2]; they shall strew dry dust on the ground[3]; and they shall isolate a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth

[1] The way to the Dashtânistân.

[2] Lest the wood shall be touched and defiled by the woman on her way to the Dashtânistân.

[3] Lest the earth shall be touched and defiled by her. Cf. Farg. IX, 11.

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part of the house[1], lest her look should fall upon the fire.'

3 (9). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from the fire? How far from the water? How far from the consecrated bundles of Baresma? How far from the faithful?

4 (10). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Fifteen paces from the fire, fifteen paces from the water, fifteen paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma, three paces from the faithful.'

5 (11). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! How far from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has the whites or sees the blood?

6 (12). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Three paces[2] from her shall he stay, who brings food to a woman who has the whites or sees the blood.'

In what kind of vessels shall he bring her bread? In what kind of vessels shall he bring her barley-drink?

'In vessels of brass, or of lead, or of any common metal[3].'

7 (15). How much bread shall he bring to her? How much barley-drink shall he bring?

'Two danares[4] of dry bread, and one danare of liquor, lest she should get too weak[5].

[1] Nowadays a room on the ground-floor is reserved for that use.

[2] The food is held out to her from a distance in a metal spoon.

[3] Earthen vessels, when defiled, cannot be made clean; but metal vessels can (see Farg. VII, 73 seq.)

[4] A danare is, according to Anquetil, as much as four tolas; a tola is from 105 to 175 grains.

[5] 'Sôshyôs says: For three nights cooked meat is not allowed to her, lest the issue shall grow stronger.'

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'If a child has just touched her, they shall first wash his hands and then his body[1].

II.

8 (21). 'If she still see blood after three nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until four nights have passed.

'If she still see blood after four nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until five nights have passed.

9. 'If she still see blood after five nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until six nights have passed.

'If she still see blood after six nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until seven nights have passed.

10. 'If she still see blood after seven nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until eight nights have passed.

'If she still see blood after eight nights have passed, she shall sit in the place of infirmity until nine nights have passed.

11. 'If she still see blood after nine nights have passed, this is a work of the Daêvas which they have performed for the worship and glorification of the Daêvas[2].

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[1] A child whom she suckles. The meaning is, Even a child, if he has touched her, must undergo the rites of cleansing. The general rule is given in the Commentary: 'Whoever has touched a Dashtân woman must wash his body and his clothes with gômêz and water.' The ceremony in question is the simple Ghosel, not the Barashnûm, since the woman herself performs the former only (see below, § 11 seq.)

[2] Abnormal issues are a creation of Ahriman's (Farg. I, 18).

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'The worshippers of Mazda shall clear the way[1] of the wood there, both plants and trees[2];

12 (26). 'They shall dig three holes in the earth, and they shall wash the woman with gômêz by two of those holes and with water by the third.

'They shall kill Khrafstras, to wit: two hundred corn-carrying ants[3], if it be summer; two hundred of any other sort of the Khrafstras made by Angra Mainyu, if it be winter.'

III.

13 (30). If a worshipper of Mazda shall suppress the issue of a woman who has the whites or sees blood, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'He is a Peshôtanu: two hundred stripes with the Aspahê-astra, two hundred stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

14 (33). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! If a man shall again and again lasciviously touch the body of a woman who has the whites or sees blood, so that the whites turn to the blood or the blood turns to the whites, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

15 (36). Ahura Mazda answered: 'For the first time he comes near unto her, for the first time he lies by her, thirty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, thirty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

'For the second time he comes near unto her, for the second time he lies by her, fifty stripes with the Aspahê-astra, fifty stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

[1] The way to the Barashnûm-gâh, where the cleansing takes place.

[2] See Farg. IX, 3 seq.

[3] Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

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'For the third time he comes near unto her, for the third time he lies by her, seventy stripes with the Aspahê-astra, seventy stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.'

16. For the fourth time he comes near unto her, for the fourth time he lies by her, if he shall press the body under her clothes, if he shall go in between the unclean thighs, but without sexual intercourse, what is the penalty that he shall pay?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ninety stripes with the Aspahê-astra, ninety stripes with the Sraoshô-karana.

17 (39). 'Whosover shall lie in sexual intercourse with a woman who has the whites or sees blood, does no better deed than if he should burn the corpse of his own son, born of his own body and dead of naêza[1], and drop its fat into the fire[2].

18 (41). 'All wicked, embodiments of the Drug, are scorners of the judge: all scorners of the judge are rebels against the Sovereign: all rebels against the Sovereign are ungodly men; and all ungodly men are worthy of death[3].'

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[1] A disease (Farg. VII, 58). There is another word nâeza, 'a spear,' so that one may translate also 'killed by the spear' (Asp.)

[2] 'Not that the two deeds are equal, but neither is good' (Comm.) The sin in question is a simple tanâfûhr (Farg. XV, 7), and therefore can be atoned for by punishment and repentance, whereas the burning of a corpse is a crime for which there is no atonement (Farg. I, 17; VIII, 73 seq.)

[3] Literally, 'is a Peshôtanu;' 'he is a tanâfûhr sinner, that is to say, margarzân (worthy of death),' Comm.

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FARGARD XVII.

Hair and Nails.

Anything that has been separated from the body of man is considered dead matter (nasu), and is accordingly unclean. As soon as hair and nails are cut off, the demon takes hold of them and has to be driven away from them by spells, in the same way as he is from the bodies of the dead [1].

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Which is the most deadly deed whereby a man offers up a sacrifice to the Daêvas [2]?'

2 (3). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is when a man here below, combing his hair or shaving it off, or paring off his nails, drops them [3] in a hole or in a crack [4].

3 (6). 'Then by this transgression of the rites, Daêvas are produced in the earth; by this transgression of the rites, those Khrafstras are produced in the earth which men call lice, and which eat up the corn in the corn-field and the clothes in the wardrobe.

4 (10). 'Therefore, thou, O Zarathustra! whenever here below thou shalt comb thy hair or shave

[1] On similar views and customs in different countries, see Notes and Queries, 3rd series, X, 146; Aulus Gellius, X, 15, 15; Mélusine, 1878, pp. 79, 549, 583; L. de Rosny, Histoire des dynasties divines, 308.

[2] Any offence to religion is considered an offering to the Daêvas, whose strength is thereby increased. Cf. Yt. V, 95.

[3] Without performing the requisite ceremonies.

[4] Doubtful.

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it off, or pare off thy nails, thou shalt take them away ten paces from the faithful, twenty paces from the fire, thirty paces from the water, fifty paces from the consecrated bundles of Baresma.

5 (13). 'Then thou shalt dig a hole, a dishti[1] deep if the earth be hard, a vîtasti deep if it be soft; thou shalt take the hair down there and thou shalt say aloud these victorious words: "For him, as a reward, Mazda made the plants grow up[2]."

6 (17). 'Thereupon thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shall chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

II.

7 (19). 'For the nails, thou shalt dig a hole, out of the house, as deep as the top joint of the little finger; thou shalt take the nails down there and thou shalt say aloud these victorious words: "The things that the pure proclaim through Asha and Vohu-manô[3]."

8 (24). 'Then thou shalt draw three furrows with

[1] A dishti=ten fingers. A vîtasti=twelve fingers.

[2] See above, XI, 6; the choice of this line was determined by the presence of the word plants in it: man was considered a microcosm, and every element in him had its counterpart in nature; the skin is like the sky, the flesh is like the earth, the bones are like the mountains, the veins are like the rivers, the blood in the body is like the water in the sea, the hair is like the plants, the more hairy parts are like the forests (Gr. Bund.) Cf. Rig-veda X, 16, 3; Ilias VII, 99; Empedocles, fr. 378; Epicharmus ap. Plut. Consol. ad Apoll. 15; Edda, Grimnismal, 40.

[3] Yasna XXXIII, 7; understood (with a play upon the word sruyê, 'is heard,' and 'nails of both hands') as: 'O Asha, with Vohu-manô, the nails of the pure [are for you].'

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a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine, and thou shalt chant the Ahuna-Vairya three times, or six, or nine.

9 (26). 'And then: "O Ashô-zusta bird[1]! these nails I announce and consecrate unto thee. May they be for thee so many spears and knives, so many bows and falcon-winged arrows, and so many sling-stones against the Mâzainya Daêvas[2]!"

10 (29). 'If those nails have not been consecrated (to the bird), they shall be in the hands of the Mâzainya Daêvas so many spears and knives, so many bows and falcon-winged arrows, and so many sling-stones (against the Mâzainya Daêvas)[3].

11 (30). 'All wicked, embodiments of the Drug, are scorners of the judge: all scorners of the judge are rebels against the Sovereign: all rebels against the Sovereign are ungodly men; and all ungodly men are worthy of death[4].'

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[1] 'The owl,' according to modern tradition. The word literally means 'friend of holiness.' 'For the bird Ashô-zusta they recite the Avesta formula; if they recite it, the fiends tremble and do not take up the nails; but if the nails have had no spell uttered over them, the fiends and wizards use them as arrows against the bird Ashô-zusta and kill him. Therefore, when the nails have had a spell uttered over them, the bird takes and eats them up, that the fiends may not do any harm by their means' (Bundahis XIX). The bird Ashô-zusta is also called Bird of Bahman (Saddar 14), both names being taken from the first words of the line quoted above.

[2] See above, p. 140, n. 5; p. 141, n. 1. The nails are cut in two and the fragments are put in the hole with the point directed towards the north, that is to say, against the breasts of the Dêvs (see above, p. 76, n. 1). See Anquetil, Zend-Avesta II, 117; India Office Library, VIII, 80.

[3] Repeated by mistake from § 10.

[4] See preceding Fargard, § 18.

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FARGARD XVIII.

I (1–13). On the unworthy priest and enticers to heresy.

II (14–29). The holiness of the cock, the bird of Sraosha, who awakes the world for prayer and for the protection of Atar.

III (30–59). On the four sins that make the Dru*g* pregnant with a brood of fiends.

IV (60–65). On the evil caused by the *G*ahi (the prostitute).

V (66–76). How intercourse with a Dashtân woman is to be atoned for.

I.

1. 'There is many a one, O holy Zarathustra!' said Ahura Mazda, 'who wears a wrong Paitidâna [1], and who has not girded his loins with the Religion [2]; when such a man says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

2 (5). 'He holds a wrong Khrafstraghna [3] in his hand and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra! thus said Ahura Mazda.

3 (7). 'He holds a wrong twig [4] in his hand and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

[1] See above, p. 172, n. 10.

[2] The word translated girded is the word used of the Kôstî, the sacred girdle which the Parsi must never part with (see § 54); the full meaning, therefore, is, 'girded with the law as with a Kôstî' (cf. Yasna IX, 26 [81]), that is to say, 'never forsaking the law,' or, as the Commentary expresses it, 'one whose thought is all on the law' (cf. § 5).

[3] See above, p. 173, n. 1.

[4] The bundles of Baresma or the urvarâm (see p. 22, n. 3; p. 173, n. 4).

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4 (9). 'He wields a wrong Astra mairya[1] and he has not girded his loins with the Religion; when he says, "I am an Âthravan," he lies; do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

5 (11). 'He who sleeps on throughout the night, neither performing the Yasna nor chanting the hymns, worshipping neither by word nor by deed, neither learning nor teaching, with a longing for (everlasting) life, he lies when he says, "I am an Âthravan," do not call him an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra!' thus said Ahura Mazda.

6 (14). 'Him thou shalt call an Âthravan, O holy Zarathustra! who throughout the night sits up and demands of the holy Wisdom[2], which makes man free from anxiety, and wide of heart, and easy of conscience at the head of the *Kinvat* bridge[3], and which makes him reach that world, that holy world, that excellent world of Paradise.

7 (18). '(Therefore) demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

8 (21). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is it that brings in the unseen power of Death?'

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[1] The astra (Aspahê-astra) with which the priest, as a Sraoshâ-varez, chastises the guilty.

[2] That is to say, studies the law and learns from those who know it.

[3] See Farg. XIX, 30. 'It gives him a stout heart, when standing before the *Kinvat* bridge' (Comm.)

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9 (22). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the man that teaches a wrong Religion[1]; it is the man who continues for three springs[2] without wearing the sacred girdle[3], without chanting the Gâthas, without worshipping the Good Waters.

10 (25). 'And he who should set that man at liberty, when bound in prison[4], does no better deed than if he should cut a man's head off his neck[5].

[1] 'The deceiver Ashemaogha' (Comm.); the heretic. Cf. Farg. XV, 2.

[2] 'For three years' (Comm.)

[3] The Kôstî, which must be worn by every Parsi, man or woman, from their fifteenth year of age (see below, § 54 seq.); it is the badge of the faithful, the girdle by which he is united both with Ormazd and with his fellow-believers. He who does not wear it must be refused water and bread by the members of the community; he who wears it becomes a participator in the merit of all the good deeds performed all over the Zarathustrian world (Saddar 10 and 46). The Kôstî consists 'of seventy-two interwoven filaments, and should three times circumvent the waist. ... Each of the threads is equal in value to one of the seventy-two Hâhs of the Izashnê; each of the twelve threads in the six lesser cords is equal in value to the dawâzdih hamâist ...; each of the lesser cords is equal in value to one of the six Gahanbârs; each of the three circumventions of the loins is equal in value to humat, good thought, hukhat, good speech, huaresta, good work; the binding of each of the four knots upon it confers pleasure on each of the four elements, fire, air, water, and the earth' (Edal Daru, apud Wilson, The Parsi Religion Unfolded, p. 163).

Another piece of clothing which every Parsi is enjoined to wear is the Sadara, or sacred shirt, a muslin shirt with short sleeves, that does not reach lower than the hips, with a small pocket at the opening in front of the shirt, the so-called girîbân or kissai karfa, 'the pocket for good deeds.' The faithful man must, while putting on his Sadara, look at the girîbân and ask himself whether it is full of good deeds.

[4] See Introd. III, 10. Cf. § 12.

[5] Doubtful. The Commentary seems to understand the sentence as follows: 'He who should free him from hell would thus per-

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11 (27). 'For the blessing uttered by a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha does not go past the mouth (of the blesser); the blessing of two Ashemaoghas[1] does not go past the tongue; the blessing of three[1] is nothing; the blessing of four[1] turns to self-cursing.

12 (29). 'Whosoever should give to a wicked, ungodly Ashemaogha either some Haoma prepared, or some Myazda consecrated with blessings, does no better deed than if he should lead a thousand horse against the boroughs of the worshippers of Mazda, and should slaughter the men thereof, and drive off the cattle as plunder.

13 (32). 'Demand of me, thou upright one! of me, who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me, that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.'

II.

14 (33). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who is the Sraoshâ-varez[2] of Sraosha? the holy, strong Sraosha, who is Obedience incarnate, a Sovereign with an astounding weapon[3].'

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form no less a feat than if he should cut off the head of a man and then make him alive again.'

[1] Perhaps better: 'The second ..., the third ..., the fourth blessing of an Ashemaogha.'

[2] 'Who is he who sets the world in motion?' (Comm.) Cf. p. 57, n. 3.

[3] Sraosha, Srôsh, the Genius of Active Piety. He first tied the Baresma, sacrificed to Ahura, and sang the Gâthas. Thrice in each day and each night he descends upon the earth to smite Angra Mainyu and his crew of demons. With his club uplifted he

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15 (34). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the bird named Parôdars[1], which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs[2], O holy Zarathustra! the bird that lifts up his voice against the mighty Ushah[3]:

16 (37). '"Arise, O men! recite the Ashem yad vahistem that smites down the Daêvas[4]. Lo! here is Bûshyãsta, the long-handed[5], coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world, as soon as it has awoke: 'Sleep!' [she says,] 'O poor man! the time[6] is not yet come.'"

17 (41). '"On the three excellent things be never intent, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; on the three abominable things be ever

protects the world from the demons of the night, and the dead from the terrors of death and from the assaults of Angra Mainyu and Astô-vîdôtu. It is through a sacrifice performed by Ormazd, as a Zôtî, and Srôsh, as a Râspî, that at the end of time Ahriman will be for ever vanquished and brought to nought (Yasna LVII; Yt. XI, &c.)

[1] 'He who foreshows the coming dawn; the cock.'

[2] 'When he is not called so, he is powerful' (Comm.) Cf. Farg. XIII, 2, 6.

[3] Ushah, the second half of the night, from midnight to the dawn.

[4] The cock is 'the drum of the world.' As crowing in the dawn that dazzles away the fiends, he crows away the demons: 'The cock was created to fight against the fiends and wizards; ... he is with the dog an ally of Srôsh against demons' (Bundahis XIX). 'No demon can enter a house in which there is a cock; and, above all, should this bird come to the residence of a demon, and move his tongue to chaunt the praises of the glorious and exalted Creator, that instant the evil spirit takes to flight' (Mirkhond, History of the Early Kings of Persia, translated by Shea, p. 57; cf. Saddar 32, and J. Ovington, A Voyage to Suratt, 1696, p. 371).

[5] The demon of sleep, laziness, procrastination. She lulls back to sleep the world as soon as awaked, and makes the faithful forget in slumber the hour of prayer.

[6] 'To perform thy religious duties' (Comm.)

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intent, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

18 (43). 'On the first part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the master of the house for help, saying:

19 (43). '"Up! arise, thou master of the house! put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands[1]. Here comes Âzi[2], made by the Daêvas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

20 (46). 'On the second part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the husbandman for help, saying:

21 (46). '"Up! arise, thou husbandman! Put on thy girdle on thy clothes, wash thy hands, take wood, bring it unto me, and let me burn bright with the clean wood, carried by thy well-washed hands. Here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

22 (48). 'On the third part of the night, Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the holy Sraosha for help, saying: "Come thou, holy, well-formed Sraosha, [then he brings unto me some clean wood with his well-washed hands[3].] Here comes Âzi, made by the Daêvas, who consumes me and wants to put me out of the world."

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[1] The Parsi, as soon as he has risen, must put on the Kôstî, wash his hands, and put wood on the fire.

[2] Âzi, the demon of avidity; he extinguishes the fire, while he devours the wood.

[3] The text seems to be corrupt: it must probably be emended into 'bring into me . . .'

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23 (51). 'And then the holy Sraosha wakes up the bird named Parôdars, which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs, and the bird lifts up his voice against the mighty Ushah:

24 (52). '"Arise, O men! recite the Ashem yad vahistem and the Nâismi daêvô[1]. Lo! here is Bûshyãsta, the long-handed, coming upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world as soon as it has awoke: 'Sleep!' [she says,] 'O poor man! the time is not yet come.'"

25 (52). '"On the three excellent things be never intent, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; on the three abominable things be ever intent, namely, bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds."

26 (53). 'And then bed-fellows address one another: "Rise up, here is the cock calling me up." Whichever of the two first gets up shall first enter Paradise: whichever of the two shall first, with well-washed hands, bring clean wood unto Atar, the son of Ahura Mazda, Atar, well pleased with him and not angry, and fed as it required, will thus bless him:

27 (58). '"May herds of oxen and sons accrue to thee: may thy mind be master of its vow, may thy soul be master of its vow, and mayst thou live on in the joy of thy soul all the nights of thy life."

'This is the blessing which Atar speaks unto him who brings him dry wood, well examined by the light of the day, well cleansed with godly intent.

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[1] The prayer: 'Righteousness is the best of all good . . .' (the Ashem vohû), and the profession of faith: 'I scorn the Daêvas . . .' (Yasna XII, 1).

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28 (64). 'And whosoever will kindly and piously present one of the faithful with a pair of these my Parôdars birds, a male and a female, O Spitama Zarathustra! it is as though he had given[1] a house with a hundred columns, a thousand beams, ten thousand large windows, ten thousand small windows.

29 (67). 'And whosoever shall give meat to one of the faithful, as much of it as the body of this Parôdars bird of mine, I, Ahura Mazda, need not interrogate him twice; he shall directly go to Paradise.'

III.

30 (70). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Thou then, alone in the material world, dost bear offspring without any male coming unto thee?'

31 (74). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! It is not so, nor do I, alone in the material world, bear offspring without any male coming unto me.

32 (77). 'For there are four males of mine; and they make me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed[2].'

33 (78). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Who is the first of those males of thine?'

34 (79). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy,

[1] 'In the day of recompense' (Comm.); he shall be rewarded as though he had given a house, &c. . . . he shall receive such a house in Paradise.

[2] Sin makes the Drug mother of a spontaneous progeny, as the sinner is 'the brood of the Drug' (Yasna LXI, 10).

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well-formed Sraosha! He is the first of my males who, being entreated by one of the faithful, does not give him anything, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up [1].

35 (82). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed.'

36 (83). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! What is the thing that can undo that?'

37 (84). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! This is the thing that undoes it, namely, when a man unasked, kindly and piously, gives to one of the faithful something, be it ever so little, of the riches he has treasured up.

38 (87). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

39 (88). The holy Sraosha, letting down his club upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Who is the second of those males of thine?'

40 (89). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! He is the second of my males who, making water, lets it fall along the upper forepart of his foot.

41 (92). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive by their seed.'

42 (93). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! What is the thing that can undo that?'

[1] Cf. Farg. III, 34.

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43 (94). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! This is the thing that undoes it, namely, when the man rising up[1] and stepping three steps further off, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya[2], two humatanãm[3], three hukhshathrô-temãm[4], and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya[5] and offer up one Yênhê hâtãm[6].

44 (98). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does, who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

45 (99). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Who is the third of those males of thine?'

46 (100). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! He is the third of my males who during his sleep emits seed.

47 (102). 'That man makes me conceive progeny as other males make their females conceive progeny by their seed.'

48 (103). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! What is the thing that can undo that?'

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[1] 'Nec stando mingens ... facile visitur Persa' (Amm. Marc. XXIII, 6); Ardâ Vîrâf XXIV; Mainyô-i-khard II, 39; Saddar 56. Cf. Manu IV, 47 seq., and Polack, Persien I, 67: 'Von einem in Paris weilenden Perser hinterbrachte man dem König, um seine Emancipation und Abtrünnigkeit vom Gesetz zu beweisen, dass er Schweinefleisch esse und stehend die Function verrichte.'

[2] See Farg. VIII, 19.

[3] Yasna XXXV, 2: one of the Bis-âmrûta (Farg. X, 4).

[4] Yasna XXXV, 5: one of the Thris-âmrûta (Farg. X, 8).

[5] Making four Ahuna-Vairya in all; cf. Farg. X, 12.

[6] See Yasna XXI.

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49 (104). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! this is the thing that undoes it, namely, if the man, when he has risen from sleep, shall say three Ahuna-Vairya, two humatanãm, three hukhshathrôtemãm, and then chant the Ahuna-Vairya and offer up one Yênhê hâtãm[1].

50 (107). 'He does thereby as thoroughly destroy the fruit of my womb as a four-footed wolf does who tears the child out of a mother's womb.'

51 (108). Then he shall speak unto Spenta Ârmaiti[2], saying: 'O Spenta Ârmaiti, this man do I deliver unto thee[3]; this man deliver thou back unto me, against the happy day of resurrection; deliver him back as one who knows the Gâthas, who knows the Yasna[4], and the revealed Law[5], a wise and clever man, who is Obedience incarnate.

52 (112). 'Then thou shalt call his name "Fire-creature, Fire-seed, Fire-offspring, Fire-land," or any name wherein is the word Fire[6].'

53 (113). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug! Who is the fourth of those males of thine?'

54 (114). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy,

[1] See § 43 and notes.

[2] The Genius of the Earth (cf. Farg. II, 10).

[3] In the same way as she received the seed of the dying Gayomart, from which she let grow, in the shape of a plant, the first human couple, Mashya and Mashyâna (Bund. XV, 1–2).

[4] The Yasna Haptanhâiti.

[5] Literally, 'the answers made to the questions (of Zarathustra).'

[6] Atar, the Fire, is the ideal father of the son to be born, as Spenta Armaiti, the Earth, is his ideal mother. The fire is considered male (Dînkard, apud West, Pahlavi Texts, II, 410) and (as Apãm Napât) has made and shaped man (Yt. XIX, 52).

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well-formed Sraosha! This one is my fourth male who, either man or woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle and the sacred shirt[1].

55 (115). 'At the fourth step[2] we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of Righteousness, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas[3].'

56 (117). The holy Sraosha, letting his club down upon her, asked the Drug: 'O thou wretched, worthless Drug, what is the thing that can undo that?'

57 (118). The Drug demon answered: 'O holy, well-formed Sraosha! There is no means of undoing it;

58 (120). 'When a man or a woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle or the sacred shirt.

59 (120). 'At the fourth step we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of Righteousness, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas.'

IV.

60 (122). Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all

[1] The Kôstî and the Sadara; see above, p. 195, n. 3. It is the sin known as kushâd duvârisnî (Mainyô-i-khard II, 35; Ardâ Vîrâf XXV, 6).

[2] 'Going three steps without Kôstî is only a three Sraoshô-karana sin; from the fourth step, it is a tanâfûhr sin' (Comm.)

[3] The Yâtu is a sorcerer; the Zanda is an apostle of Ahriman.

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beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

61 (123). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Who grieves thee with the sorest grief? Who pains thee with the sorest pain?'

62 (124). Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the *Gahi*[1], O Spitama Zarathustra! who mixes in her the seed of the faithful and the unfaithful, of the worshippers of Mazda and the worshippers of the Daêvas, of the wicked and the righteous[2].

63 (125). 'Her look dries up one-third of the mighty floods that run from the mountains, O Zarathustra; her look withers one-third of the beautiful, golden-hued, growing plants, O Zarathustra;

64 (127). 'Her look withers one-third of the strength of Spe*n*ta Ârmaiti[3]; and her touch withers in the faithful one-third of his good thoughts, of his good words, of his good deeds, one-third of his strength, of his victorious power, and of his holiness[4].

65 (129). 'Verily I say unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! such creatures ought to be killed even

[1] The courtezan, as an incarnation of the female demon *Gahi*.

[2] '[Whether she gives up her body to the faithful or to the unfaithful], there is no difference; when she has been with three men, she is guilty of death' (Comm.)

[3] The earth.

[4] 'If a *Gahi* (courtezan) look at running waters, they fall; if at trees, they are stunted; if she converse with a pious man, his intelligence and his holiness are withered by it' (Saddar 67). Cf. Manu IV, 40 seq.

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more than gliding snakes[1], than howling wolves, than the wild she-wolf that falls upon the fold, or than the she-frog that falls upon the waters with her thousandfold brood.'

V.

66 (133). Demand of me, thou upright one! of me who am the Maker, the most beneficent of all beings, the best knowing, the most pleased in answering what is asked of me; demand of me that thou mayst be the better, that thou mayst be the happier.

67–68 (133). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazdâ: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has the whites or sees blood, and he does so wittingly and knowingly[2], and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and knowingly, what is the atonement for it, what is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed they have done?'

69 (136). Ahura Mazda answered: 'If a man shall come unto a woman who has the whites or sees blood, and he does so wittingly and knowingly, and she allows it wilfully, wittingly, and knowingly;

70 (137). 'He shall slay a thousand head of small cattle; he shall godly and piously offer up to the

[1] It is written in the law (the Avesta): 'O Zartust Isfitamân! with regard to woman, I say to thee that any woman that has given up her body to two men in one day is sooner to be killed than a wolf, a lion, or a snake: any one who kills such a woman will gain as much merit by it as if he had provided with wood a thousand fire-temples, or destroyed the dens of adders, scorpions, lions, wolves, or snakes' (Old Rav. 59 b).

[2] 'Knowing her state and knowing that it is a sin' (Comm.)

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fire[1] the entrails[2] thereof together with Zaothra-libations[3]; he shall bring the shoulder bones to the Good Waters[4].

71 (140). 'He shall godly and piously bring unto the fire a thousand loads of soft wood, of Urvâsna, Vohû-gaona, Vohû-kereti, Hadhâ-naêpata, or of any sweet-scented plant[5].

72 (142). 'He shall tie and consecrate a thousand bundles of Baresma; he shall godly and piously offer up to the Good Waters a thousand Zaothra-libations, together with the Haoma and the milk, cleanly prepared and well strained,—cleanly prepared and well strained by a pious man, and mixed with the roots of the tree known as Hadhâ-naêpata[6].

73 (144). 'He shall kill a thousand snakes of those that go upon the belly, two thousand of the other kind; he shall kill a thousand land-frogs and two thousand water-frogs; he shall kill a thousand corn-carrying ants and two thousand of the other kind[7].

[1] To the Bahrâm fire.

[2] The ōmentum (afsman) or epipleon. Catullus, describing the sacrifice of the Magi, has (LXXXIX):

'Accepto veneretur carmine divos
Omentum in flamma pingue liquefaciens.'

Strabo XV, 13: τοῦ ἐπίπλου τι μικρὸν τιθέασι, ὡς λέγουσί τινες, ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ. 'Ascending six steps they showed me in a Room adjoining to the temple, their Fire which they fed with Wood, and sometimes Burn on it the Fat of the Sheep's Tail.' A Voyage Round the World, Dr. J. F. Gemelli, 1698.

[3] The ceremony here described is nearly fallen into desuetude: it is the so-called Zôhr-âtash (zaothra for the fire), which is for the fire what the Zôhr-âb is for the waters.

[4] This is the Zôhr-âb. According to the Shâyast (XI, 4), when an animal is immolated, the heart is offered to the fire and the shoulder is offered to the waters.

[5] Cf. Farg. XIV, 3 seq.

[6] Cf. Farg. XIV, 4, and p. 173, n. 4.

[7] Cf. Farg. XIV, 5.

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74 (147). 'He shall throw thirty bridges over canals; he shall undergo a thousand stripes with the Aspahê-astra, a thousand stripes with the Sraoshô-karana[1].

75 (149). 'This is the atonement, this is the penalty that he shall pay to atone for the deed that he has done.

76 (150). 'If he shall pay it, he makes himself a viaticum into the world of the holy ones; if he shall not pay it, he makes himself a viaticum into the world of the wicked, into that world, made of darkness, the offspring of darkness, which is Darkness' self[2].'

FARGARD XIX.

I. Angra Mainyu sends the demon Bûiti to kill Zarathustra: Zarathustra sings aloud the Ahuna-Vairya, and the demon flies away, confounded by the sacred words and by the Glory of Zarathustra (§§ 1–3).

I a. Angra Mainyu himself attacks him and propounds riddles to be solved under pain of death. The Prophet rejects him with heavenly stones, given by Ahura, and announces to him that he will destroy his creation. The demon promises him the empire of the world if he adores him, as his ancestors have done, and abjures the religion of Mazda. Zarathustra rejects his offers scornfully. He announces he will destroy him with the arms given by Ahura, namely, the sacrificial implements and the sacred words. Then he recites the Tad thwâ peresâ, that is to say the Gâtha in which he asks Ahura for instruction on all the mysteries of the material and spiritual world (§§ 4–10).

The rest of the Fargard contains specimens of the several questions asked by Zarathustra and the answers given by Ahura. It is an abridgement of the Revelation (cf. Yt. XXIV).

[1] Five tanâfûhrs, that is six thousand dirhems.

[2] Cf. Farg. V, 62.

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II (11–17). How to destroy the uncleanness born from a contact with the dead?—By invoking the Mazdean Religion. A series of invocations taught by Ahura and developed by Zarathustra (15–16).

III (18–19). How to promote the prosperity of the creation?—By the rites of the Baresman.

IV (20–25). How to purify man and clothes defiled by the dead?—With gômêz, water, and perfume.

V (26–34). On the remuneration of deeds after death; on the fate of the wicked and the righteous; the *Kinvad* bridge.

II a (34–42). Another series of invocations.

VI (43–47). The demons, dismayed by the birth of the Prophet, rush back into hell.

As may be seen from the preceding analysis, the essential part of this Fargard are sections I and VI, the rest being an indefinite development. It appears also from section VI, that the attacks of Bûiti and Angra Mainyu against Zarathustra and the attempt to seduce him are supposed to take place at the moment when he was born, which is confirmed by the testimony of the Nask Varshtmânsar (West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 226 seq.)

I.

1. From the region of the north, from the regions of the north[1], forth rushed Angra Mainyu, the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas[2]. And thus spake the evil-doer Angra Mainyu, the deadly: 'Drug, rush down and kill him,' O holy Zarathustra! The Drug came rushing along, the demon Bûiti[3], who is deceiving, unseen death[4].

2 (5). Zarathustra chanted aloud the Ahuna-

[1] From hell; cf. p. 76, n. 1.

[2] 'The fiend of fiends,' the arch-fiend.

[3] Bûiti is identified by the Greater Bundahish with the Bût, the idol, worshipped by Bûdâsp (a corruption of Bodhisattva). Bûiti would be therefore a personification of Buddhism, which was flourishing in Eastern Iran in the two centuries before and after Christ. Bûidhi (Farg. XI, 9) may be another and more correct pronunciation of Bodhi.

[4] Idolatry (cf. note 3) being the death of the soul.

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Vairya[1]: 'The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.'

He offered the sacrifice to the good waters of the good Dâitya[2]! He recited the profession of the worshippers of Mazda[3]!

The Drug dismayed, rushed away, the demon Bûiti, who is deceiving, unseen death.

3 (7). And the Drug said unto Angra Mainyu: 'Thou, tormenter, Angra Mainyu! I see no way to kill Spitama Zarathustra, so great is the glory of the holy Zarathustra.'

Zarathustra saw (all this) within his soul: 'The wicked, the evil-doing Daêvas (thought he) take counsel together for my death.'

I a.

4 (11). Up started Zarathustra, forward went Zarathustra, unabated by Akem-manô[4], by the hardness of his malignant riddles[5]; he went swinging stones in his hand, stones as big as a house[6], which he obtained from the Maker, Ahura Mazda, he the holy Zarathustra.

[1] See above, p. 100, n. 2.

[2] The river in Airyana Vaêgô; see Farg. I, 3.

[3] The Fravarânê (Yasna XI, 16). [4] See Farg. X, 10, n. 1.

[5] This is a fragment of an old legend in which Zarathustra and Angra Mainyu played respectively the parts of Oedipus and the Sphinx. Cf. Yt. V, 81, where the same legend is told in nearly the same terms of the sorcerer Akhtya and Yôista Fryananâm.

[6] The Commentary has, 'Some say, those stones are the Ahuna-Vairya.' If one keeps in mind how much the Musulman legend of Ibrahim owes to the legend of Zoroaster, one may easily admit that this passage in our text is the origin of the story of how Iblis tempted Ibrahim, and was pelted away, whence he was named 'the stoned One' (ar-ragîmû).

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'Whereat on this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, whereat dost thou swing (those stones), thou who standest by the upper bank of the river Darega [1], in the mansion of Pourusaspa [2]?'

5 (16). Thus Zarathustra answered Angra Mainyu: 'O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! I will smite the creation of the Daêva; I will smite the Nasu, a creature of the Daêva; I will smite the Pairika Knãthaiti [3], till the victorious Saoshyant come up to life [4] out of the lake Kãsava [5], from the region of the dawn, from the regions of the dawn.'

6 (20). Again to him said the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: 'Do not destroy my creatures, O holy Zarathustra! Thou art the son of Pourusaspa [6]; by thy mother I was invoked [7]. Renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, and thou shalt gain such a boon as Vadhaghna [8] gained, the ruler of the nations.'

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[1] 'The Dârâga is the chief of the rivers, because the house of Zartûsht's father stood on its bank and Zartûsht was born there' (Bund. XXIV, 15).

[2] The father of Zarathustra.

[3] The incarnation of idolatry; cf. Farg. I, 10.

[4] The unborn son of Zoroaster, who, at the end of time, will destroy Ahriman and bring about the resurrection of the dead. See Yt. XIII, 62; XIX, 92, 94 seq.

[5] The Zarah sea in Saistân. Cf. Yt. XV, 66.

[6] 'I know thee' (Comm.)

[7] The Commentary has, 'Some explain thus: Thy forefathers worshipped me: worship me also.' Zoroaster's forefathers must naturally have followed a false religion, since he announces the true one.

[8] Azi Dahâka or Zohâk, who, as a legendary king, is said to have ruled the world for a thousand years. Cf. Mînôkhard LVII, 24–25: 'Ahriman shouted to Zaratûsht thus: "If thou desist from this good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, then I will give thee

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7 (24). Spitama Zarathustra said in answer: 'No! never will I renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, either for body or life, though they should tear away the breath!'

8 (27). Again to him said the Maker of the evil world, Angra Mainyu: 'By whose Word wilt thou strike, by whose Word wilt thou repel, by whose weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel) my creation, who am Angra Mainyu?'

9 (29). Spitama Zarathustra said in answer: 'The sacred mortar, the sacred cups, the Haoma, the Word taught by Mazda, these are my weapons, my best weapons! By this Word will I strike, by this Word will I repel, by this weapon will the good creatures (strike and repel thee), O evil-doer, Angra Mainyu! The Good Spirit made the creation[1]; he made it in the boundless Time. The Amesha-Spe*n*tas made the creation, the good, the wise Sovereigns.'

10 (35). Zarathustra chanted aloud the Ahuna-Vairya.

The holy Zarathustra said aloud: 'This I ask thee: teach me the truth, O Lord[2]!...'

II.

11 (37). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit, Maker of the

a thousand years' dominion of the worldly existence, as was given to the Vadakân monarch Dahâk"' (West, Pahlavi Texts, III, 103).

[1] The first duty of every good Mazda-worshipper is to think of Ormazd as the creator, and of Ahriman as the destroyer (Mînô-khard II, 9).

[2] This verse is the beginning of the Ta*d* thwâ peresâ Gâtha (Yasna XLIV); cf. the Introduction to the Fargard.

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material world, thou Holy One! [he was sitting by the upper bank of the Darega[1], before Ahura Mazda, before the good Vohu-manô, before Asha Vahista, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta Ârmaiti;]

12 (39). 'How shall I free the world from that Drug, from that evil-doer, Angra Mainyu? How shall I drive away direct defilement? How indirect defilement? How shall I drive the Nasu from the house of the worshippers of Mazda? How shall I cleanse the faithful man? How shall I cleanse the faithful woman?'

13 (42). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the good Religion of Mazda.

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! though thou see them not, the Amesha-Spentas who rule over the seven Karshvares of the earth[2].

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time[3], and Vayu[4], whose action is most high.

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! the powerful Wind, made by Mazda; and Spenta [Ârmaiti][5], the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

14 (46). 'Invoke, O Zarathustra! my Fravashi[6], who am Ahura Mazda, the greatest, the best, the fairest of all beings, the most solid, the most intelligent, the best shapen, the highest in holiness, and whose soul is the holy Word[7]!

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[1] See p. 211, note 1. [2] See § 39.

[3] By contradistinction to the duration of the world, which is limited to 12,000 years (Bund. XXXIV, 1).

[4] The Genius of Destiny; cf. Farg. V, 9.

[5] The fourth Amesha-Spenta, who in her spiritual character is an incarnation of pious humility and in her material character the Genius of the Earth; cf. Farg. II, 10.

[6] On the Fravashis, see Yt. XIII. [7] Cf. Yasna I, 1.

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'Invoke, O Zarathustra! this creation of mine, who am Ahura Mazda.'

15 (50). Zarathustra imitated my words from me, (and said): 'I invoke the holy creation of Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke Mithra [1], the lord of the rolling country-side, a god armed with beautiful weapons, with the most glorious of all weapons, with the most victorious of all weapons.

'I invoke the holy, well-formed Sraosha [2], who wields a club in his hand, to bear upon the heads of the fiends [3].

16 (54). 'I invoke the most glorious Holy Word.

'I invoke the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu, whose action is most high.

'I invoke the mighty Wind, made by Mazda, and Spenta (Ârmaiti), the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke the good Religion of Mazda, the fiend-destroying Law of Zarathustra.'

III.

17 (58). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Maker of the good world, Ahura Mazda! With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship, with what manner of sacrifice shall I make people worship this creation of Ahura Mazda [4]?'

18 (60). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Go, O Spitama

[1] See p. 23, n. 1.

[2] See Farg. XVIII, 14, note.

[3] Cf. Farg. XVIII, 22 seq.; Yasna LVII, 19 seq.; Yasht XI.

[4] The sacrifice intended is a sacrifice to nature. The Baresman, as representative of the vegetal nature, receives the zaothra-libations, which are representative of the fertilizing rains.

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Zarathustra! towards the high-growing trees[1], and before one of them that is beautiful, high-growing, and mighty, say thou these words: "Hail to thee! O good, holy tree, made by Mazda! Ashem vohu[2]!"

19 (63). '[The priest] shall cut off a twig of Baresma, long as an aêsha, thick as a yava[3]. The faithful one, holding it in his left hand, shall keep his eyes upon it without ceasing[4], whilst he is offering up to Ahura Mazda and to the Amesha-Spe*n*tas, the high and beautiful golden Haomas, and Good Thought and the good Râta[5], made by Mazda, holy and excellent.'

IV.

20 (67). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou, all-knowing Ahura Mazda! thou art never asleep, never intoxicated, thou Ahura Mazda! Vohu-manô[6]

[1] The tree, whatever it is, from which the Baresma is taken. See p. 22, n. 3.

[2] See § 22.

[3] Perhaps: 'long as a ploughshare, thick as a barleycorn.' Cf. the English system of measures, in which three barleycorns=one inch.—Cf. Nîrangistân 90.

[4] The Parsis are recommended to keep their eyes on the Baresma during the sacrifice: 'A man is offering the Darûn, he has said all the required Avesta, but he has not looked at the Baresma: what is the rule? It would have been better if he had looked at it: however he may proceed to the meal' (Old Rav. 97 b). Cf. Tahmuras' Fragments, XXX–XXXI.

[5] Râta impersonates the liberalities done by men to God (as offerings) and by God to men (as riches, &c.)

[6] Vohu-manô is often used as a designation of the faithful one, literally, 'the good-minded;' this is the meaning which is given to it in this passage by the Commentary, and it certainly belongs to it in the second part of § 25; but in the first part of the same clause it is translated 'clothes,' a meaning which is not unlikely

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gets directly defiled: Vohu-manô gets indirectly defiled; the Daêvas defile him from the bodies smitten by the Daêvas[1]: let Vohu-manô be made clean.'

21 (70). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shalt take some gômêz from a bull ungelded and such as the law requires it[2]. Thou shalt take the man who is to be cleansed to the field made by Ahura[3], and the man that is to cleanse him shall draw the furrows[4].

22 (73). 'He shall recite a hundred Ashem vohu: "Holiness is the best of all good: it is also happiness. Happy the man who is holy with perfect holiness!"

'He shall chant two hundred Ahuna-Vairya: "The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda! He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king."

'He shall wash himself four times with the

in itself, as Vohu-manô, being the Amshaspand of cattle, may designate, and in fact did designate, the skins of cattle and leather (Comm. ad Farg. XVIII, 2). On the whole the description in the text applies to the cleansing both of the man and of the clothes, and Vohu-manô sometimes means the one, and sometimes the other.—From the first meaning is derived the modern use of Vâhman, 'Such a one,' 'N.'

[1] From dead bodies.

[2] The so-called Varasiô; 'it must be of a white colour; if a single hair on its body be found other than white, the animal is rejected as unfit for the purpose' (Sorâbji Kâvasji Khambâtâ, in the Indian Antiquary, VII, 180). On the preparation of the gômêz, see Wilson, Parsi Religion Unfolded, pp. 434–435.

[3] The place of the cleansing, the Barashnûm-gâh (see Farg. IX, 3).

[4] See Farg. IX, 10.

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gômêz from the ox, and twice with the water made by Mazda[1].

23 (76). 'Thus Vohu-manô shall be made clean, and clean shall be the man. The man shall take up Vohu-manô[2] with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left: and thou shalt lay down Vohu-manô under the mighty light of the heavens, by the light of the stars made by the gods, until nine nights have passed away[3].

24 (80). 'When nine nights have passed away, thou shalt bring libations unto the fire, thou shalt bring hard wood unto the fire, thou shalt bring incense of Vohû-gaona unto the fire, and thou shalt perfume Vohu-manô therewith.

25 (82). 'Thus shall Vohu-manô be made clean, and clean shall be the man[4]. He shall take up Vohu-manô with the right arm and the left, with the left arm and the right, and Vohu-manô[5] shall say aloud: "Glory be to Ahura Mazda! Glory be to the Amesha-Spe*n*tas! Glory be to all the other holy beings."'

V.

26 (85). Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O thou all-knowing Ahura Mazda: Should I urge

[1] 'Or better six times with the gômêz and thrice with the water' (Comm.; cf. Farg. VIII, 37 seq.; IX, 28 seq.)

[2] 'The clothes' (Comm.)

[3] The clothes of the unclean shall be exposed to the air for nine nights, all the time while he himself is confined in the Armêst-gâh. The rules for the cleansing of clothes that have been worn by the dead himself are different (see Farg. VII, 12 seq.)

[4] 'Thus Vohu-manô shall be clean—the clothes; thus the man shall be clean—he who wears those clothes' (Comm.)

[5] The faithful one.

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upon the godly man, should I urge upon the godly woman, should I urge upon the wicked Daêva-worshipper who lives in sin, to give the earth made by Ahura, the water that runs, the corn that grows, and all the rest of their wealth[1]?'

Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thou shouldst, O holy Zarathustra.'

27 (89). O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are the rewards given? Where does the rewarding take place? Where is the rewarding fulfilled? Whereto do men come to take the reward that, during their life in the material world, they have won for their souls?

28 (90). Ahura Mazda answered: 'When the man is dead, when his time is over, then the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas cut off his eyesight. On the third night, when the dawn appears and brightens up, when Mithra, the god with beautiful weapons, reaches the all-happy mountains, and the sun is rising:

29 (94). 'Then the fiend, named Vîzaresha[2], O Spitama Zarathustra, carries off in bonds[3] the souls of the wicked Daêva-worshippers who live in sin. The soul enters the way made by Time, and open both to the wicked and to the righteous. At the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, the holy bridge

[1] Cf. § 29 end.

[2] The demon Vîzaresh is he who, during that struggle of three days and three nights with the souls of the departed, carries terror on them and beats them: he sits at the gate of hell (Bund. XXVIII, 18).

[3] 'Every one has a noose cast around his neck: when a man dies, if he has been a righteous man, the noose falls from his neck; if a wicked, they drag him with that noose down into hell' (Comm.; cf. Farg. V, 8).

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made by Mazda [1], they ask for their spirits and souls the reward for the worldly goods which they gave away here below [2].

30 (98). 'Then comes the beautiful, well-shapen, strong and well-formed maid [3], with the dogs at her sides [4], one who can distinguish [5], who has many children [6], happy, and of high understanding.

'She makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the Hara-berezaiti [7]; above the *Kinvad*

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[1] The *Kinvad* bridge extends over hell and leads to Paradise; for the souls of the righteous it widens to the length of nine javelins; for the souls of the wicked it narrows to a thread, and they fall down into hell (cf. Ardâ Vîrâf V, 1; Dînkard IX, 20, 3). The *Kinvad* bridge has become the Sirath bridge of the Musulmans. Not long ago they sang in Yorkshire of 'the Brig o' Dread, na brader than a thread' (Thoms, Anecdotes, 89), and even nowadays the peasant in Nièvre tells of a little board—

'Pas pu longue, pas pu large
Qu'un ch'veu de la Sainte Viarge,'

which was put by Saint Jean d'Archange between the earth and Paradise:

'Ceux qu'saront la raison (=l'oraison?) d'Dieu
Par dessus passeront.
Ceux qu'la sauront pas
Au bout mourront.' (Mélusine, p. 70.)

[2] Cf. § 26, and Farg. III, 34, 35; XVIII, 33 seq.

[3] The soul of the dead, on the fourth day, finds itself in the presence of a maid, of divine beauty or fiendish ugliness, according as he himself was good or bad, and she leads him into heaven or hell: this maid is his own Daêna, his Religion, that is the sum of his religious deeds, good or evil (Yasht XXII).

[4] The dogs that keep the *Kinvad* bridge (see Farg. XIII, 9).

[5] The good from the wicked.

[6] Doubtful. Those children would be the righteous, as the sons of the Drug are the wicked (Farg. XVIII, 30 seq.)

[7] The *Kinvad* bridge rests by one end on the Alborz (Hara-berezaiti) and by the other on the *Kikâd* Dâitîk in Irân Vêg (Comm. ad § 101 ed. Sp.; Dînkard IX, 20, 3).

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bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods themselves.

31 (102). 'Up rises Vohu-manô[1] from his golden seat; Vohu-manô exclaims: "How hast thou come to us, thou Holy One, from that decaying world into this undecaying one[2]?"

32 (105). 'Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of the Amesha-Spe*n*tas, to the Garô-nmânem[3], the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spe*n*tas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

33 (108). 'As to the godly man that has been cleansed[4], the wicked evil-doing Daêvas tremble at the perfume of his soul after death, as doth a sheep on which a wolf is pouncing[5].

34 (110). 'The souls of the righteous are gathered together there: Nairyô-sangha[6] is with them; a messenger of Ahura Mazda is Nairyô-sangha.

II a.

'Invoke, O Zarathustra! this very creation of Ahura Mazda.'

35 (114). Zarathustra imitated those words of

[1] The doorkeeper of Paradise; a Zoroastrian Saint-Pierre.

[2] Cf. Farg. VII, 52; Yt. XXII, 16.

[3] The Garothmân of the Parsis; literally, 'the house of songs;' it is the highest Paradise.

[4] That has performed the Barashnûm.

[5] Ormazd is all perfume, Ahriman is infection and stench (Bundahis I; Eznig, Refutatio Haeresiarum II); the souls of their followers partake of the same qualities, and by the performance of the Barashnûm both the body and the soul are perfumed and sweetened.

[6] Cf. Farg. XXII, 7.

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mine: 'I invoke the holy world, made by Ahura Mazda.

'I invoke the earth made by Ahura, the water made by Mazda, the holy trees.

'I invoke the sea Vouru-kasha[1].

'I invoke the beautiful Heaven[2].

'I invoke the endless and sovereign Light[3].'

36 (120). 'I invoke the bright, blissful Paradise of the Holy Ones.

'I invoke the Garô-nmânem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spe*n*tas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

'I invoke the sovereign Place of Eternal Weal[4], and the *K*inva*d* bridge made by Mazda.

37 (123). 'I invoke the good Saoka[5], who has the good eye.

'I invoke the whole creation of weal.

'I invoke the mighty Fravashis[6] of the righteous.

'I invoke Verethraghna[7], made by Ahura, who wears the Glory made by Mazda[8].

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[1] See Farg. V, 15 seq.

[2] Asman, the highest heaven, as distinguished from the firmament (thwâsha) that lies nearer the earth.

[3] The endless Light is 'the place of Ormazd' (Bund. I); it is Infinite Space conceived as luminous.

[4] Misvâna gâtva, another name of the heavenly spaces; it designates heaven as the abode and source of all blessings, of all savah, or saoka.

[5] A Genius defined, 'Genius of the good eye,' by opposition to 'the bad eye.' Saoka (Sôk) is an auxiliary to Mithra (Mihr); she receives first, from above, all the good destined to man, and transmits it to the lower sky or firmament (which is the seat of Destiny) through the moon and Ardvîsûr (Gr. Bund.)

[6] See Yt. XIII.

[7] The Genius of Victory (Bahrâm). See Yt. XIV.

[8] The *hv*arenô (Khurra or Farr) or light of sovereignty. Cf. § 39 and see Yt. XIX.

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'I invoke Tistrya[1], the bright and glorious star, in the shape of a golden-horned bull[2].

38 (127). 'I invoke the holy, beneficent Gâthas[3], who rule over the Ratus[4]:

'I invoke the Ahunavaiti Gâtha;

'I invoke the Ustavaiti Gâtha;

'I invoke the Spenta-mainyu Gâtha;

'I invoke the Vohu-khshathra Gâtha;

'I invoke the Vahistôisti Gâtha.

39 (129). 'I invoke the Karshvares of Arzahê and Savahê;

'I invoke the Karshvares of Fradadhafshu and Vidadhafshu;

'I invoke the Karshvares of Vourubaresti and Vouruzaresti;

'I invoke the bright *Hv*aniratha[5];

'I invoke the bright, glorious Haêtumant[6];

'I invoke the good Ashi[7];

['I invoke the good *K*isti[8];]

[1] Tistrya (Tîr), the star of rain. See Yt. VIII.

[2] Tistrya appears successively under three forms, during the month named from him (the first month of summer, 21 June–21 July): ten days as a man, ten days as a bull, ten days as a horse. 'As a bull he is most to be invoked' (Comm.), to prepare his final victory over the demon of Drought, Apaosha.

[3] The five collections of hymns which form the oldest and holiest part of the Yasna and of the Avesta (Yasna XXVIII–XXXIV; XLIII–XLVI; XLVII–L; LI; LIII); they are named after their initial words.

[4] The chiefs of creation; 'they rule over the Ratus inasmuch as it is by their means that these other Ratus are invoked' (Comm.)

[5] The earth is divided into seven Karshvares, of which the central one, *Hv*aniratha, is the finest and contains Iran.

[6] See Farg. I, 14.

[7] Ashi (Ashishvang), the Genius that imparts riches to the righteous: see Yt. XVII.

[8] An angel of religious knowledge.

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'I invoke the most pure *K*ista [1];

'I invoke the Glory of the Aryan regions [2];

'I invoke the Glory of the bright Yima, the good shepherd [3].

40 (133). 'Let him be worshipped with sacrifice, let him be gladdened, gratified, and satisfied, the holy Sraosha, the well-formed, victorious, holy Sraosha [4].

'Bring libations unto the Fire, bring hard wood unto the Fire, bring incense of Vohû-gaona unto the Fire.

'Offer up the sacrifice to the Vâzista fire [5], which smites the fiend Spen*g*aghra [6]: bring unto it the cooked meat and full overflowing libations [7].

41 (137). 'Offer up the sacrifice to the holy Sraosha, that the holy Sraosha may smite down the fiend Ku*n*da [8], who is drunken without drinking [9], and throws down into the Hell of the Dru*g* the wicked Daêva-worshippers, who live in sin.

[42 [10]. 'I invoke the Kara fish [11], who lives beneath waters in the bottom of the deep lakes.

[1] Religious knowledge: invoked with Daêna (Religion; Sîrôza, 24).

[2] The light of sovereignty, *hv*arenô, which if secured by the Aryans makes them rule over their enemies (cf. § 37 and Yt. XIX, 56–93).

[3] See Farg. II, 2.

[4] That he may smite Aêshma and the other fiends.

[5] The fire of lightning.

[6] The demon that prevents the fall of rain; a companion in arms of Apaosha.

[7] Doubtful. [8] The same as Ku*n*di; see Farg. XI, 9.

[9] Whereas Aêshma, the other arch-enemy of Sraosha, borrows part of his strength from drunkenness (Yasna X, 8).

[10] From the Vendîdâd Sâda. The clause may have belonged to the original text; it is preceded by another clause which certainly

[11] For this note see next page.

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'I invoke the ancient and sovereign Merezu [12], the most warlike of the creatures of the two Spirits [13].

'I invoke the seven bright Sru [14] . . .'

VI.

43. 'They cried about, their minds wavered to and fro [15], Angra Mainyu the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas; I*n*dra the Daêva, Sâuru the Daêva, N*a*unghaithya the Daêva, Taurvi and Zairi [16]; Aêshma of the murderous spear [17]; Akatasha the Daêva [18]; Winter, made by the Daêvas; the deceiving, unseen Death; Zaurva [19], baneful to the fathers; Bûiti the Daêva [20]; Driwi [21] the Daêva; Daiwi [22] the Daêva; Kasvi [23] the Daêva; Paitisha [24] the most Daêva-like amongst the Daêvas.]

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did not belong to it, and part of which is cited in the Commentary ad Farg. VIII, 103, where it would have been more suitably placed: 'When he has been cleansed in the next inhabited place, he may then sow and till the pasture fields, as food for the sheep and as food for the ox.'

[11] The Kar-mâhî, the Ratu or chief of the creatures that live in water. Cf. Farg. XX, 4, note; Yt. XIV, 29.

[12] A ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. From its two epithets, 'ancient' and 'sovereign,' it appears that it must designate one of the first principles, that is to say, some form of Heaven, Light, Space, or Time.

[13] Doubtful.

[14] Hapta sravô bâmya han*a*unghô puthr*a*unghô pus*a*unghô bavai*n*ti.

[15] Up and down, in hope and despair.

[16] See Farg. X, 9–10.

[17] See Farg. X, 13.

[18] See Farg. X, 13.

[19] Old age.

[20] See above, p. 209, n. 3.

[21] Malice; see above, Farg. II, 29.

[22] Lying; see above, Farg. II, 29.

[23] Spite; see above, Farg. II, 29.

[24] Opposition, or counter-action, the same as Paityâra; a personification of the doings of Ahriman and of his marring power.

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44 (140). 'And the evil-doing Daêva, Angra Mainyu, the deadly, said: "What! let the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas gather together at the head of Arezûra[1]!"

45 (141). 'They rush away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away casting the Evil Eye, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas: "Let us gather together at the head of Arezûra!

46 (143). '"For he is just born the holy Zarathustra, in the house of Pourusaspa. How can we procure his death? He is the weapon that fells the fiends: he is a counter-fiend to the fiends; he is a Drug to the Drug. Vanished are the Daêva-worshippers, the Nasu made by the Daêva, the false-speaking Lie!"

47 (147). 'They rush away shouting, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas, into the depths of the dark, raging world of hell.

'Ashem vohû: Holiness is the best of all good.'

FARGARD XX.

Thrita, the First Healer.

It has already been seen (Farg. VII, 44) that there are three kinds of medicine: one that heals with the knife, one that heals with herbs, and one that heals with sacred spells. The present Fargard deals with the origin of medicine, particularly the herbs-medicine. Its inventor was Thrita, of the Sâma family, to whom Ahura Mazda brought down from heaven ten thousand healing

[1] At the gate of hell; see above, p. 24, n. 1.

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plants that had been growing up around the tree of eternal life, the white Hôm or Gaokerena (§ 4).

This Thrita is mentioned only once again in the Avesta, in Yasna IX, 7, where he appears to have been one of the first priests of Haoma. This accounts for his medical skill; as Haoma is the plant of eternal life, it is but natural that one of his first priests should have been the first healer.

This Fargard has only an allusion to the origin of the knife-medicine, which was, as it seems, revealed by Khshathra Vairya (§ 3). The last paragraphs (§§ 5–12) deal with the spell-medicine.

The functions ascribed here to Thrita were sometimes conferred on his semi-namesake Thraêtaona[1]. Hamza makes Thraêtaona the inventor of medicine[2]; the Tavîds[3] against sickness are inscribed with his name, and we find in the Avesta itself his Fravashi invoked 'against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever[4], incontinence, against the plagues created by the serpent[5].' We see from the last words of this passage that disease was understood as coming from the serpent; in other words, that it was considered a sort of poisoning[6], and this is the reason why the killer of the serpent (Azi Dahâka) was invoked to act against it.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Who was he who first of the healers[7], of the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong, the Paradhâtas[8], drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death[9]; and first turned away the point of

[1] See the Westergaard Fragments, II.

[2] Ed. Gottwaldt, p. 23; cf. Mirkhond, Early Kings of Persia, tr. by Shea, p. 152.

[3] Formulas of exorcism.

[4] Cf. Farg. VII, 58.

[5] Yasht XIII, 131.

[6] This theory, which modern science would not utterly reject, accounts for the great part which the serpent plays in the worship of Asklepios; as sickness comes from him, from him too must or may come the healing.

[7] 'Those who knew how to take care of their own bodies, like Isfandyâr: some say that no sword could wound him' (Comm.)

[8] The Paradhâta or Pêshdâd, the kings of the first Iranian dynasty.

[9] 'That is to say, who kept sickness in bonds, who kept death in bonds' (Comm.)

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the sword and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals?'

2 (11). Ahura Mazda answered: 'Thrita it was who first of the healers, of the wise, the happy, the wealthy, the glorious, the strong, the Paradhâtas, drove back sickness to sickness, drove back death to death, and first turned away the point of the sword and the fire of fever from the bodies of mortals.

3 (12). 'He asked for a source of remedies; he obtained it from Khshathra-Vairya[1], to withstand sickness and to withstand death; to withstand pain and to withstand fever; to withstand Sârana and to withstand Sârastya[2]; to withstand Azana and to withstand Azahva; to withstand Kurugha and to withstand Azivâka; to withstand Duruka and to withstand Astairya; to withstand the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu had created against the bodies of mortals.

4 (15). 'And I Ahura Mazda brought down the healing plants that, by many hundreds, by many thousands, by many myriads, grow up all around the one Gaokerena[3].

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[1] As Khshathra-Vairya presides over metals, it was a knife he received, 'of which the point and the base were set in gold.' He was therefore the first who healed with the knife, as well as the first who healed with herbs. As for the healing with the holy word, see §§ 5 and seq.

[2] Headache and cold fever.

[3] There are two Haomas: one is the yellow or golden Haoma, which is the earthly Haoma, and which, when prepared for the sacrifice, is the king of healing plants; the other is the white Haoma or Gaokerena, which grows up in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha, where it is surrounded by the ten thousand healing

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5 (18). 'All this do we achieve; all this do we order; all these prayers do we utter, for the benefit of the bodies of mortals[1];

6. 'To withstand sickness and to withstand death; to withstand pain and to withstand fever; to withstand Sârana and to withstand Sârastya; to withstand Azana and to withstand Azahva; to withstand Kurugha and to withstand Azivâka; to withstand Duruka and to withstand Astairya; to withstand the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

7 (19). 'To thee, O Sickness, I say avaunt! to thee, O Death, I say avaunt! to thee, O Pain, I say avaunt! to thee, O Fever, I say avaunt! to thee, O Evil Eye, I say avaunt! to thee, O Sârana, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Sârastya, I say avaunt! to thee, O Azana, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Azahva, I say avaunt! to thee, O Kurugha, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Azivâka, I say avaunt! to thee, O Duruka, I say avaunt! and to thee, O Astairya, I say avaunt!

8 (21). 'Give us, O Ahura, that powerful sovereignty, by the strength of which we may smite down the Drug! By its might may we smite the Drug[2]!

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plants, created by Ormazd in order to oppose so many diseases that had been created by Ahriman (Bundahis IX; cf. Farg. XXII, 2). A frog goes swimming around the Gaokerena to gnaw it down: but two Kar Mâhî (Farg. XIX, 42) keep watch and circle around the tree, so that the head of one of them is continually towards the frog (Bund. XVIII).

[1] We do all that is necessary for healing; we give, as Dastobar (Dastûr), the necessary prescriptions; we recite the needed prayers. —This section is a transition to the spell-medicine.

[2] This clause is borrowed, with some alteration, from Yasna

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9 (23). 'I drive away Ishirê and I drive away Aghûirê; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sârana and I drive away Sârastya; I drive away Azana and I drive away Azahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azivâka; I drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya; I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

10 (25). 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas[1], and all the wicked *G*ainis[2].

11 (26). 'Å Airyamâ ishyô. May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman[3] come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

12 (29). 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked *G*ainis.'

[13. Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness.

The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

XXXI, 4; the original text is, 'May that strong power come to me, by the might of which we may smite down the Dru*g*!'

[1] See Farg. XI, 9.

[2] '*G*ai' (Comm.), that is *G*ahi; cf. Farg. XVIII, 62, and Farg. XXII, 2, note.—Clause 10 is imitated from clause 12.

[3] On Airyaman, see Farg. XXII. Clauses 11–12 are borrowed from Yasna LIV, 1, and form the prayer known as Airyama-ishyô.

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K*e*m-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, through whose work I keep on the world of Righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule!

K*e* verethrem-*g*â:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spe*n*ta! Perish, O fiendish Dru*g*! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Dru*g*! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness[1]!]

FARGARD XXI.

I (1). Praise of the holy bull.

II (2–3). Invocation addressed to rain as a healing power.

III a (4–7). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the sun.

III b (8–11). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the moon.

III c (12–17). Joint invocation addressed to the waters and to the light of the stars.

IV (18–21). Spells against disease.

The largest part of this Fargard is filled with a uniform spell, intended, as it seems, for the protection of lying-in women (§§ 6–7, 10–11, 14–15), who are under the special care of Ardvî Sûra Anâhita, the great goddess of the waters. That spell is repeated three times, in a joint invocation to the sun, to the moon, and to the stars respectively; that strange association is perhaps owing to the fact that both the light and the waters spring up from the Hara Berezaiti and return there (see p. 232, note 1).

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[1] See Farg. VIII, 19–20.

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I.

1. Hail, bounteous bull[1]! Hail to thee, beneficent bull! Hail to thee, who makest increase! Hail to thee, who makest growth! Hail to thee, who dost bestow his part[2] upon the righteous faithful, and wilt bestow it on the faithful yet unborn! Hail to thee, whom the *G*ahi kills[3], and the ungodly Ashemaogha, and the wicked tyrant[4].

II.

2 (3). 'Come, come on, O clouds, from up above, down on the earth, by thousands of drops, by myriads of drops:' thus say, O holy Zarathustra! 'to destroy sickness, to destroy death, to destroy the sickness that kills[5], to destroy death that kills, to destroy Gadha and Apagadha[6].

3 (9). 'If death come after noon, may healing come at eve!

'If death come at eve, may healing come at night!

'If death come at night, may healing come at dawn!

'And showers shower down new water, new earth, new plants, new healing powers, and new healing.

III a.

4 (15). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering

[1] The primeval bull who was created by Ormazd and killed by Ahriman with the help of the *G*ahi.—Clause 1 is to be recited when one meets an ox or any kind of cattle, Gr. Rav. 386.

[2] Possibly, 'who dost kill the *G*ahi' (by means of gômêz).

[3] His daily food.

[4] The wicked kills animals, out of mere cruelty, beyond his needs (Yasna XXIX, 1; XXXII, 12, 14; XLVIII, 7).

[5] Cf. Bund. III, 3, 6, 4. [6] Names of diseases.

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place of the waters[1], rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way[2]: thus rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the aerial way.

5 (20). 'Up! rise up and roll along! thou swift-horsed Sun, above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem[3])[4], along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

6 (23). 'And the Holy Word shall keep away the evil[5]: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk;

[1] Waters and light are believed to flow from the same spring and in the same bed: 'As the light comes in through Alborz (Hara Berezaiti) and goes out through Alborz, so water also comes out through Alborz and goes away through Alborz' (Bund. XX, 4). Every day the sun, moon, and stars rise up from Alborz, and every day all the waters on the earth come back together to the sea Vouru-kasha, and there collected come down again to the earth from the peaks of Alborz (Gr. Rav. 431). As light comes from three different sources (the sun, the moon, and the stars), the waters are invoked three times, first in company with the sun, then with the moon, lastly with the stars, as if there should be three different movements of the rain connected with the three movements of light.

[2] Waters come down from the sky to the earth and rise back from the earth to the sky (see Farg. V, 15 seq.)

[3] 'If thou art a righteous man' (Comm.)

[4] The translation of this clause is doubtful.

[5] The spell refers to the cleansing and generative power of the waters; cf. the invocation to Ardvî Sûra, Farg. VII, 16: the waters are supposed to make females fertile as they make the earth. This spell was probably pronounced to facilitate childbirth.

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7 (27). 'Rich in seed, in milk[1], in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that give food to the child.

III b.

8 (30). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way:

'Thus rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made the earth.

9 (31). 'Up! rise up, thou Moon, that dost keep in thee the seed of the bull[2];

'Rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

10 (32). 'And the Holy Word shall keep away the evil: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk;

11 (32). 'Rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that give food to the child.

III c.

12 (32). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place

[1] There are, in the text, two words for 'milk,' the one referring to the milk of women, the other to the milk of cows.

[2] When the primeval bull died, 'what was bright and strong in his seed was brought to the sphere of the moon, and when it was cleansed there in the light of the astre, two creatures were shaped with it, a male and a female, from which came two hundred and seventy-two kinds of animals' (Bund. IV, X).

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of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way:

'Thus rise up and roll along! thou in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made everything that grows [1].

13 (33). 'Up! rise up, ye deep Stars, that have in you the seed of waters [2];

'Rise up above Hara Berezaiti, and produce light for the world (and mayst thou [O man!] rise up there, if thou art to abide in Garô-nmânem), along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way they opened.

14 (34). 'And the Holy Word shall keep away the evil: Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee rich in children and rich in milk;

15 (34). 'Rich in seed, in milk, in fat, in marrow, and in offspring. I shall bring to thee a thousand pure springs, running towards the pastures that will give food to the child.

16 (34). 'As the sea Vouru-kasha is the gathering place of the waters, rising up and going down, up the aerial way and down the earth, down the earth and up the aerial way:

'Thus rise up and roll along! ye in whose rising and growing Ahura Mazda made everything that rises.

17 (35). 'In your rising away will the Ka*hv*u*z*i [3] fly and cry, away will the Ayêhi [4] fly and cry, away will the *G*ahi, who follows the Yâtu, fly and cry.

[1] The plants that grow under the action of 'those stars that have in them the seed of waters' (cf. § 13).

[2] Cf. Yt. XII, 29.

[3] 'He who diminishes glory, Ahriman' (Comm.)

[4] 'Sterility, Ahriman' (Comm.)

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IV.

[18[1]. 'I drive away Ishirê and I drive away Aghûirê; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sârana and I drive away Sârastya. I drive away Azana and I drive away Azahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azivâka; I drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya; I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

19. 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked *G*ainis.

20. 'Â Airyamâ ishyô:—May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura!

21. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked *G*ainis.

22. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness!

'K*e*m-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me . . .?

'K*e* verethrem-*g*â:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching . . .?

23. 'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spe*n*ta! Perish, O fiendish Dru*g*! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Dru*g*! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!']

[1] §§ 18–23=Farg. XX, 9–13.

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FARGARD XXII.

It has already been seen that of all healers, the most powerful is the one who treats with the Holy Word (Mãthra Spe*n*ta), that is with sacred spells (Farg. VII, 44). Of all sacred spells, the most efficacious is the Airyamâ ishyô, which forms the fifty-fourth Hâ of the Yasna. This is expressed under a mythological form in the following Fargard (cf. Westergaard's Fragments, IV).

Angra Mainyu having created 99,999 diseases, Ahura applies for remedy to the Holy Word (Mãthra Spe*n*ta; §§ 1–5).—How shall I manage? asks Mãthra Spe*n*ta (§ 16). Ahura sends his messenger to Airyaman with the same request.

This Fargard is unfinished or, more correctly, the end of it is understood. Airyaman comes at once to Ahura's call, and digs nine furrows. It is no doubt in order to perform the Barashnûm [1], by the virtue of which the strength of the demon and of the demon's work will be broken. The Fargard ends therefore with spells against sickness and against death, added to the usual spells of the ordinary Barashnûm.

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion [2], the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I arrive!)

2 (5). 'Then the ruffian looked at me [3]; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, thou most glorious Mãthra Spe*n*ta!

3 (8). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thou-

[1] See Farg. IX. [2] 'The Garôtmân' (Comm.), Paradise.

[3] And cast on me the evil eye; 'it was by casting the evil eye on the good creatures of Ormazd that Ahriman corrupted them' (Eznig, Refutatio Haeresiarum II). Cf. Farg. XX, 3.

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sand fleet, swift-running steeds; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka[1], made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

4 (12). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females big with young, of all species of small cattle; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

5 (16). 'And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.

6 (20). 'Mãthra Spenta, the all-glorious, replied unto me: "How shall I heal thee? How shall I drive away from thee those nine diseases, and those ninety, those nine hundred, those nine thousand, and those nine times ten thousand diseases?"'

II.

7 (22). The Maker Ahura Mazda called for Nairyô-sangha[2]: Go thou, Nairyô-sangha, the herald, and drive towards the mansion of Airyaman, and speak thus unto him:

[1] The Genius of the good eye; see Farg. XIX, 37, and note.

[2] The messenger of Ahura Mazda. He is a form of Âtar, the Fire (Yasna XVII, 11 [68]).

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8 (23). Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee:

'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I ascend, there may I arrive!)

9 (24). 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the vow-fulfiller!

10 (26). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

11 (30). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females big with young, of all species of small cattle. I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

12 (34). 'And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

III.

13 (38). In obedience to Ahura's words he went, Nairyô-sangha, the herald; he drove towards the mansion of Airyaman, he spake unto Airyaman, saying:

14 (38). Thus speaks Ahura Mazda, the Holy One, unto thee: 'I, Ahura Mazda, the Maker of all good things, when I made this mansion, the

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beautiful, the shining, seen afar (there may I go up, there may I arrive!)

15 (39). 'Then the ruffian looked at me; the ruffian Angra Mainyu, the deadly, wrought against me nine diseases, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand, and nine times ten thousand diseases. So mayst thou heal me, O Airyaman, the vow-fulfiller!

16 (40). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, swift-running steeds; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand fleet, high-humped camels; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

17 (44). 'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand brown oxen that do not push; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

'Unto thee will I give in return a thousand females, big with young, of all species of small cattle; I offer thee up a sacrifice, O good Saoka, made by Mazda and holy.

18 (48). 'And I will bless thee with the fair blessing-spell of the righteous, the friendly blessing-spell of the righteous, that makes the empty swell to fulness and the full to overflowing, that comes to help him who was sickening, and makes the sick man sound again.'

IV.

19 (52). Quickly was it done, nor was it long, eagerly set off the vow-fulfilling Airyaman, towards

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the mountain of the holy Questions[1], towards the forest of the holy Questions.

20 (54). Nine kinds of stallions brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman[2].

Nine kinds of camels brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

Nine kinds of bulls brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

Nine kinds of small cattle brought he with him, the vow-fulfilling Airyaman.

He brought with him the nine twigs[3]; he drew along nine furrows[4].

[21[5]. 'I drive away Ishirê and I drive away Aghûirê; I drive away Aghra and I drive away Ughra; I drive away sickness and I drive away death; I drive away pain and I drive away fever; I drive away Sârana and I drive away Sârastya; I drive away Azana and I drive away Azahva; I drive away Kurugha and I drive away Azivâka; I drive away Duruka and I drive away Astairya. I drive away the evil eye, rottenness, and infection which Angra Mainyu has created against the bodies of mortals.

22. 'I drive away all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked Gainis.

23. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman come here, for the men and women of Zarathustra to rejoice, for Vohu-

[1] The mountain where 'the holy conversations' between Ormazd and Zoroaster took place (cf. Farg. XIX, 11).

[2] According to Frâmjî, 'He brought with him the strength of nine stallions,' to infuse it into the sick man (cf. Yasht VIII, 24).

[3] That is to say, 'the nine-knotted stick' (Frâmjî; cf. Farg. IX, 14).

[4] To perform the Barashnûm, 'the great service of the Nirang-Dîn, through which all evil, moral and natural, including evil passions, disease, and death will be removed' (Wilson, The Parsi Religion, p. 341).

[5] From the Vendîdâd Sâda; as Farg. XX, 9–13.

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manô to rejoice; with the desirable reward that Religion deserves. I solicit for holiness that boon that is vouchsafed by Ahura.

24. 'May the vow-fulfilling Airyaman smite all manner of sickness and death, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and all the wicked *G*ainis.

25. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô:—The will of the Lord is the law of righteousness. The gifts of Vohu-manô to the deeds done in this world for Mazda. He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king.

'K*e*m-nâ mazdâ:—What protector hast thou given unto me, O Mazda! while the hate of the wicked encompasses me? Whom but thy Âtar and Vohu-manô, through whose work I keep on the world of righteousness? Reveal therefore to me thy Religion as thy rule!

'K*e* verethrem-*g*â:—Who is the victorious who will protect thy teaching? Make it clear that I am the guide for both worlds. May Sraosha come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest, O Mazda!

'Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Ârmaiti Spe*n*ta! Perish, O fiendish Dru*g*! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Dru*g*! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of Righteousness!']

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FRAGMENTS OF THE NASKS.

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I.

WESTERGAARD'S FRAGMENTS.

These are the fragments, nine in number, published by Westergaard in his edition of the Zend-Avesta (pp. 331–334).

I.

This formula, according to a modern Ravâyat, is recited while putting on new clothes.

1. Along with Vohu Manô, Asha Vahista, and Khshathra Vairya, pronounce thou, for the men and women of the holy Zarathustra[1], a word of celebration and sacrifice, with a modest (?) voice.

2. Pronounce thou that word, O Zarathustra, for sacrifice and prayer unto us, the Amesha-Spe*n*tas[2], that thereby sacrifice may accrue unto the Waters and the Plants, and unto the Fravashis of the righteous, and unto the Yazatas of the spiritual world and of this world, divine creatures, beneficent and holy.

II.

Farîdûn Yast.

The following formulas are exactly conceived in the style of the Yast formulas. The Iranian Hercules, Thraêtaona-Farîdûn, as conqueror of Azi Dahâka, is invoked against brigands.—Azi being

[1] For the faithful.

[2] The Amesha-Spe*n*tas, presiding over the different regions of nature, may be supposed to furnish the substance, of animal or vegetable origin, of which clothes are made. Cf. Fragments to Vd. XVIII, 2.

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a Serpent, Thraêtaona appeared as well in a medical as in an heroic character: his Fravashi is invoked against itch and other diseases (Yt. XIII, 131), and his name is invoked in Tavîds (talismans) against illness, fever, and poison.

1. Fravarânê. I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification [unto Hâvani, &c.]

Khshnaothra. Gratification unto the Fravashi of the holy Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya.

Yathâ ahû vairyô.—The Râspî: The wish of the Lord ... (let this Zaotar proclaim it!)

The Zôt: Is the rule of Righteousness. Let the righteous man who knows it proclaim it!

2. We sacrifice unto Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya, holy, master of holiness, to save the pious worshippers from the brigand, from the robber, from the Karapans[1].

3. Yathâ ahû vairyô.

Yasnemča. I bless the sacrifice and prayer and the strength and vigour of the Fravashi of Thraêtaona, son of Âthwya.

Ashem vohû. Ahmâi raêsča[2].

III.

VÎSPA HUMATA.

A prayer which it is recommended to recite every morning, after the prayer of the Hâvan-gâh, and every night before going to bed.

1. All good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds I do willingly.

All evil thoughts, all evil words, all evil deeds I do unwillingly.

[1] 'The blind,' those who are blind to the Law of Ahura.

[2] The same formula as Yast III, 19.

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2. All good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds will reach Paradise.

All evil thoughts, all evil words, all evil deeds will reach Hell.

And all good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds are the badge of the righteous for Paradise.

IV.

GLORIFICATION OF THE AIRYAMA ISHYÔ PRAYER.

This fragment is the twenty-third and last Fargard of one of the Gâthic Nasks, the Varshtmânsar, which was a commentary in vulgar Zend on the Gâtha texts. Its Pahlavi translation is found in the Dînkart, IX, 46. See the Airyama Ishyô itself, Yasna LIV, Vendîdâd XX, 11.

1. The Airyama Ishyô I declare, O pure Spitama, the greatest of all words; I created it as the most triumphant of all words. That is the word that the Saosyaṇts[1] will pronounce.

2. Through it, I proclaim it, O Spitama, I become sovereign over my creation, I, Ahura Mazda; and through it Angra Mainyu, of the bad religion, shall lose the sovereignty over his own creation, O Spitama Zarathustra.

3. Angra Mainyu shall hide under the earth; under the earth shall the demons hide. The dead shall rise up, life shall come back to the bodies and they shall keep the breath.

V.

This fragment is composed of two series of invocations which differ only in the same manner as the Lesser Sîrôza differs from

[1] The great saints of Mazdeism, whose virtue and merits are to bring about the decisive victory of Ahura over Angra Mainyu and the production of the resurrection.

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the Greater one, that is to say, the first is introduced by the word Khshnaothra [1], and the second by the word yazamaidê [2]. These are two forms of Khshnûman for a Darûn celebrated on the Bahrâm day for the benefit of a member of the family who is travelling.

1. [Khshnaothra. Gratification] to Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious;

To the Amesha-Spe*n*tas;

To the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength;

To Verethraghna, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant;

To the Safety of the roads;

To the golden instrument[3] and to the Saoke*n*ta mount, made by Mazda [3];

To all the Gods.

2. We sacrifice (yazamaidê) to Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious.

We sacrifice to the Amesha-Spe*n*tas;

We sacrifice to the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength;

We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant;

We sacrifice to the Safety of the roads;

We sacrifice to the golden instrument and to the Saoke*n*ta mount, made by Mazda;

We sacrifice to all the holy [Gods].

VI.

These are the formulas recited in the preparation of the *gîvâm* (the milk that mixed with urvarâm and hôm makes the parâhôm). Those formulas are found in the Pahlavi Commentary to the Nîrangistân, § 68. The milch-goat which is going to yield the

[1] Not expressed; the object is in the genitive case.

[2] 'We worship, we sacrifice to' (the object being in the accusative case).

[3] See Khôrshêd Nyâyis, 8 (Zend-Avesta, part ii).

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milk, is introduced into the Urvîs-gâh, whereupon the Mobed, after reciting three Khshnaothra and one Ashem vohû, pronounces the Fravarânê in the honour of the present Gâh and of the animal which is milked.

Fravarânê. I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas, and obeys the laws of Ahura; [for sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification unto Hâvani, &c.]

Khshnaothra. Gratification, for sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification,

[If there is only one animal:]

To the Body of the Bull[1], to the Soul of the Bull; to thy soul, to thee (tava), O Beneficent Bull.

Yathâ ahû vairyô. The will of the Lord, &c. . . .

[If there are two of them:]

To the Body of the Bull, to the Soul of the Bull; to the soul of you both (yuvâkem), O Beneficent Bulls.

Yathâ ahû vairyô . . .

[If there are three of them:]

To the Body of the Bull, to the Soul of the Bull; to your soul (yushmâkem), O Beneficent Bulls.

Yathâ ahû vairyô . . .

VII.

These are the formulas pronounced during the preparation of the holy water or Zaothra. They are found in the Pahlavi Commentary to Nîrangistân, § 48.

The Mobed, taking in hand the two Zaothra cups, recites a Khshnaothra to the waters.

[1] *Gaus* has become the general name of all animal species. Cf. Vd. XXI, 1, n. 1.

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1. Khshnaothra. Gratification, for sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification,

To the Good Waters[1] and to all the waters created by Mazda;

To the great Sovereign Apãm Napâd[2], and to the water created by Mazda;

To thee, O Ahurâni[3], [O Water] of Ahura!

Yathâ ahû vairyô.

[He puts the two cups on the surface of the water and says:]

2. We praise thee, O Ahurâni, [Water] of Ahura; we offer unto thee good sacrifices and good prayers, good offerings, offerings of assistance.

[Then he dips them, takes them up and puts them upon the Urvîs-stone while he pronounces the following words:]

Yazatanãm, thwâ, ashaonãm, kukhshnîsha, usbîbarâmi, rathwaska berezatô, gâthâoska srâvayôid: 'I take thee up, may'st thou gratify the holy Gods and the great Ratu.—Let him sing the Gâthas!'

VIII.

The following fragment, the text of which is most corrupt and defies translation, seems to be a curse to destroy an enemy.

1. May he perish in the year, in the month!

I, worshipper of Mazda, desire to make him perish by my spells. If a man utter them, the evildoer shall perish thereby quick and soon . . . May none be seized by that Drug!

[1] The waters of the present sacrifice.

[2] See Yasts and Sîrôzas, p. 6, n. 1.

[3] The waters of the bowl from which the priest draws water. Cf. the Guimet Zend-Avesta, i, 409, n. 2; 416.

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2. . . . . when Mahrkûsha[1] shall perish and the army of the Drug shall be thrown down and broken.

IX.

This fragment is as corrupt as the preceding one. It seems to be meant as a glorification of the Ahuna Vairya.

1. Yathâ ahû vairyô.

Give, O Mazda, the desired reward[2],—a royalty befriending what is good[3],—the desired reward that Religion deserves[4].

2. Yathâ ahû vairyô. This is the Word pronounced by Mazda, the lordly Word, the Mãthra Spenta, the undestructible and unfailing; the victorious, evil-destroying, healing Word; the victorious Word pronounced by Mazda; which utters and uttered health; victorious amongst all.

3. . . . . In it were uttered strength, victory, health, healing, prosperity, waxing and increase, according to that word in the Gâthas: 'all that can be wished for by your loyal servants[5].'

He who relieves the poor makes Ahura King[6].

4[7]. Let all the World of the Good Principle listen to this sacrifice, to this prayer, to this gratification, to this glorification!

We sacrifice to the pious Sraosha.

We sacrifice to the Great Master, Ahura Mazda . . . .

---

[1] Mahrkûsha, the demon who is going to send the deathly winters in prevision of which Yima is ordered to build the Var (see Vd. II, 22 and notes).

[2] From Yasna XXXIV, 14 a.

[3] Yasna LI, 1 a.

[4] Yasna LIV, 1 (Airyama ishyô).

[5] Yasna LXV, 14 (=L, 11 d).

[6] The last line of the Ahuna Vairya.

[7] Yasna LXX, 6–7.

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II.

ZEND FRAGMENTS IN THE ZEND-PAHLAVI FARHANG.

The oldest Zend dictionary in existence, the so-called Zend-Pahlavi Farhang or Oyum-yak Farhang[1], contains a number of Zend sentences or fragments of sentences, which are adduced as instances of the Zend words. They amount to the number of seventy, of which forty-eight are new. We thought it necessary to give the translation of these forty-eight fragments only. The indications of pages refer to the printed edition.

1 a (pp. 6–7). aêdha. The skin on the head.

There are two, one greater and one lesser, as it is said in the Nîkâtûm[2]:

Which is the greater aêdha?—That one which is on the posterior part of the skull.

Which is the lesser one?—That one which is on the anterior part of the skull.

1 b (p. 7). The head (vaghdhanem) of a man.

One bone of the skull.

---

[1] Haug-Hoshangji, An Old Zend-Pahlavi Glossary, Bombay, 1867.

[2] The Nîkâtûm is the fifteenth Nask, the first of the seven Legal Nasks. It contained thirty Fargards, the third of which, named Rêshistan (a treatise on the wounds), gave an enumeration of the divers members of the body, numbering seventy-six. The fragments 1 a–1 b are very likely taken from that Fargard.—For an analysis of the Nîkâtûm, see Dînkart VIII, ch. 16–20 (in West, Pahlavi Texts, IV).

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All the strokes that [have pierced] the skull are counted [tanâfûhr][1].

The others shall pay the *hv*ara[2] penalty.

---

2 a (p. 9). With victorious eloquence.

2 b. A fine, well considered, well balanced, obedient[3] speech.

2 c. An honest man who knows how to speak, for instance, a wise man who makes intercession[4].

2 d. One whose words are accepted.

---

3 (p. 11). Sovereign, unopposed.

4 (p. 11). Good renown here below, and long bliss to the soul[5].

5 (p. 11). All the bodily world shall become free from old age and death, from corruption and rot, for ever and ever[6].

6 (p. 12). A horse of first value, amongst the finest of the country, is as much as four oxen and four cows three years old.

7 (p. 12). As much as this earth.

---

[1] Which implies a punishment of two hundred Sraoshô-*k*arana strokes. The words in brackets are wanting in the text: they are supplied from the Pahlavi translation.

[2] The *hv*ara or khôr penalty: thirty strokes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana (Vd. IV, 30, 31).

[3] In accordance with the instructions of the Ratu or Dastûr.

[4] Who makes *G*âdangôi: see Tahmuras' Fragments, XLVII, note.

[5] Good renown in this world and bliss in the other. Cf. Yasna LXII, 6; Yast XVII, 22, and Tansar's letter to the King of Tabaristan: 'He may be called a great king who takes more to heart the weal of the future than the present time, in order to deserve a good name in this world and a good seat in the next.' (Journal Asiatique, 1894, I, 512–513).

[6] Cf. Yast XIX, 11, 23, 89; XXIV, 45.

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8 (p. 12). The smallest of those stars is as large as the head of a man of middle size[1].

9 (p. 12). An ashti in front, as much in depth[2].

10 (p. 13). There where the sun rises.

11 (p. 13). There where Ahura Mazda will give you prosperity.

12 (p. 14)[3]. He who to a plaintiff does not proffer place, ordeal, and time of appointment[4];

and all the operations of justice, conformable to the law and the rule, worked out by the Ahu and the Ratu, according to the laws of Asha Vahista . . .

13 (p. 14). He who says to a man: Make amends unto me.

14 (p. 14). When two men appoint a time[5] . . .

15 (pp. 14–15). As long as he has life.

16. And the young Gayô-Maratan[6].

17. In the time when those men were, O Zarathustra!

---

[1] 'Amongst the stars (says the Greater Bundahish), the larger ones are as large as a *kakâî*-house (?); the middle stars are as large as a cahârakân naptishu (?); the lesser ones are as large as the head of a domestic ox. The moon is as large as a riding-ground, two hâsars long; the sun is as large as Irân-Vêg' (thus in Anaxagoras' astronomy the sun has the dimensions of Peloponnesus).—From a comparison between the Greater Bundahish and the Zend passage quoted in the Farhang it appears that the measurement of the stars was discussed several times and not without slight variations in the Avesta (most likely in the cosmological Dâmdât Nask).

[2] Cf. Vd. XIII, 30.

[3] This fragment and the two following seem to be taken from the Nîkâtûm Nask.

[4] The defendant, if conscious of his innocence, will propose that he should go through the whole process of one of the judicial ordeals.

[5] For an ordeal.

[6] Gayô-Maratan, Gayômard, the first man. Cf. Yt. XIII, 87.

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18 (p. 15). To the lesser man labour, to the greater one, commandment (?).

19. On went Pourusaspa, on go these sons of Thraêtaona's (?).

20. He makes himself guilty of the yâta sin [1].

21 a (p. 16). A year's delay for a vîrô-mazô contract [2].

21 b. They [3] boiled up, they fell back.

22. yaêtus zaêmanô (?)

23. yaoskina surahê (?)

24. Let one pluck stems, three stems [4].

25. The edge of a razor.

26. If they have come [or have not come].

27. The progeny and son of Ahura Mazda.

28 (p. 17). The several sorts of corn.

29. I offer up the sacrifice to the Frazdânava waters [5].

30. Who is the judge who knows the law?
It is the one who sees the due decision [6].

31 (p. 18). And clothes magnificently wrought.

32. Lands fit for tillage.

33 (p. 19). All the agreements in the world.

34 (p. 23). . . . happiness with his eyes [7].

35 (p. 30). Goods carried by force.

36 (p. 31). gathwô-stakad.

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[1] Yâta, yât: the sin of breaking a man's leg.

[2] A contract to the amount of a man (valued 150 istîrs = 500 dirhems).

[3] The waters. [4] For the Baresman (Yasna LVII, 6).

[5] A river or lake in Saistan, where Vîshtâspa sacrificed to the Goddess of Waters (Yt. V, 108).

[6] He sees the right and legal decision which results from the facts of the case.—Cf. West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 64, note.

[7] This refers to the good eye, to some beneficent being who sends luck with his look: cf. Yt. XIX, 94, and reversely Yasna IX, 29.

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37. thwãm khratuṡ (?)

38. Which, recited to Mazda, protects the end[1].

39 (p. 38). The fire of Ahura Mazda receives food three times in summer, twice in winter[2]; thus does the fire of the faithful man[3].

40 (p. 39). Fifteen sheep, their hind-feet.

41 (p. 40). Anywhere in this world.—Whosoever in the bodily world.—Whatsoever of the world of the good principle.

42 (p. 41). ḳvaiti aêtshaya (K°. aêtashaya).

43. As much as twelve steps aṇtare thwãm (?)

44. Twice a Dakhṡmaiti is a Yugyaṡti[4].

Twice as much as a Hâthra is a Taḳara[5].

45 (p. 42). From the coming of the light[6] . . .

46 (p. 43). The longest day is the day of twelve Hâthras[7].

47. The shortest Hâthra is of three words[8].

---

[1] This refers perhaps to the Ashem Vohû, which, being recited by a man with his dying breath, saves his soul (Yt. XXI, 15).

[2] The fire is fed three times a day in summer, at the three Gâhs of the day; only twice in winter, as in winter there are only two Gâhs, the Rapithvin being included in Hâvan.

[3] There will be two meals in winter, one in the morning, another in the evening. In summer there is a third meal, at noon (cf. Yasna IX, 11).—The passage thirty-nine is taken from the Sakâtûm Nask (cf. West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 480).

[4] A Yugyaṡti being 16,000 paces, a Dakhṡmaiti is 8,000 paces (cf. West, ibid. 56, note).

[5] A Hâthra being 1,000 paces, a Taḳara is as much as 2,000 paces.

[6] The coming of the light (raoḳanghãm fragati) is the name of the last watch of the night.

[7] Hâthra is a measure for time as well as for space. 'A summer day (says the Bundahiṡ, XXV, 5) is of twelve hâsars; a winter day is of six hâsars.'

[8] The uses and values of the Hâthra are most diverse: as a measure for short intervals of time, it is the time needed to pronounce three words.

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48. Three steps of that sort of steps [1].
Here is for the judge, here is for the witness [2].
Here is for the suit, here is for the suitors.

[1] The complete meaning of the sentence would seem to be: 'The judge and the witness stand in a circle of three steps' (Farhang).

[2] The Farhang has: 'All the speeches of the suit ought to be held within three steps; and both pleaders—both defendant and plaintiff—should stand within a circle of three steps;' so that everybody may hear distinctly the whole of the debate.

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III.

ZEND FRAGMENTS QUOTED IN THE PAHLAVI COMMENTARY OF THE YASNA.

YASNA IX, 1, 3[1].

Mithrô zayâd Zarathustrem.

'Mitra armis (?) Zoroastrem . . .'

These words are found in the Commentary to the beginning of the Hôm Yast: Haoma approached Zarathustra 'while he was washing the fire-altar and singing the Gâthas,' and Zarathustra asked him who he was. The Commentary here observes that Zarathustra had recognised Haoma; 'as it appears from the passage, Mithrô zayâd Zarathustrem, that he knew him, that he had already had appointments with most of the Izeds and was well acquainted with them.'—That passage, quoted as usual by its first words, is very likely taken from the Spand, the Nask occupied with the legend of Zoroaster.

YASNA IX, 1, 4.

amereza gayêhê stûna.

This quotation refers to the time when everybody will be immortal without a body. It may be translated by conjecture.

'The column of life[2] [made] marrowless.'

YASNA IX, 8, 27.

Kô thwãm yim Ahurem Mazdãm.—'Quis te, Ahura Mazda . . . ?'

This quotation comes after the description of the three-headed

[1] The first Arabic number refers to Geldner's, the second to Spiegel's edition.

[2] The spine.

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serpent, Azi Dahâka. Its beginning reminds one of a similar and perhaps identical question in Vendîdâd XVIII, 61: Kô thwãm yim Ahurem Mazdãm mazistaya inti inaoti, 'Who grieves thee, Ahura Mazda, with the sorest grief?'

YASNA IX, 11, 35.

Khshvaêpaya vaênaya bareshna (or barenus).

The horned serpent, Azi Srvara, whom Keresâspa killed, had yellow poison, a thumb thick, streaming over its body, khshvaêpaya vaênaya bareshna, 'by the anus, by the nose, by the head (?).'

YASNA XVII, 55 (ed. Spiegel).

apagayêhê.—Privation of life . . .

First word of a quotation which appears in passages intended either to prolong life and deprecate the death of a friend (generally under the form: may there be no room for apagayêhê, XLI, 7; XLII, 1), or to wish death to an enemy (XLV, 4; XLVIII, 10; LII, 8; LXI, 10; ed. Sp.)

YASNA XXXI, 20 b (ed. Spiegel).

vîshâ*k*a (= vîshâa*dk*a, 'also of poison,' at the end of XLVIII, 11 d, in the best MSS.)

Descriptive of the bad food supplied to the wicked in hell, the vishayâa*dk*a vish-gaitayâa*dk*a of Yt. XXII, 36.

YASNA LVI, 1, 1 (ed. Spiegel).

barôithrô-taêzem.—See Fragments at Vd. XVIII, 14, 33 (Sp.)

YASNA LXIV, 48 (ed. Spiegel).

pâdhavê zâvare gava aza srûma.

A corrupt quotation in the MSS., from Yt. XVI, 7.

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IV.

ZEND FRAGMENTS QUOTED IN THE PAHLAVI COMMENTARY OF THE VENDÎDÂD.

VENDÎDÂD I, 2[1].

asô râmô-dâitîm nôi*d* ao*g*ô-râmi*s*tãm.

'A place that gives pleasure, though not absolute pleasure.'

This refers to the present condition of the countries, marred by Ahriman's operations; every man finds his own country delightful, however much its charm may have been spoiled by Ahriman.

paoirîm bitîm.—'Firstly, secondly.'

'Firstly, the good operation was done for that country; secondly, after the Genius of the Earth had done all its operations in that country, the work of opposition came against it. In other terms, two things: one at the time of creation, the other afterwards.'

âad ahê paityârem.—'Then to this an opposition.'

mash mâ rava shathãm haitîm.—(?)

VENDÎDÂD I, 4.

It is known that [in the ordinary course of nature] there are seven months of summer and five of winter[2].

---

[1] The last five lines in note 2, page 3 above are to be replaced by the following: Clause 2, in the Vendîdâd Sâda, is composed of Zend quotations in the Commentary: for which, see below, Fragments to the Vendîdâd.

[2] Whereas in Airyana Vaê*g*ô there are ten months of winter and two of summer.

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VENDÎDÂD I, 15.

From there[1] they come to kill and strike at heart, and they bring locusts as many as they want.

VENDÎDÂD I, 16.

vaêdhanghô nôi*d* uzôi*s*[2].—Of knowledge, not of love (?)[3].

Refers to 'Ragha of the three races,' the native place of Zoroaster's mother.

VENDÎDÂD I, 19.

'From the Eastern river to the Western one' (= Yt. X, 104).

VENDÎDÂD I, 20.

'And the ta*o*z*y*a (?)[4] oppression of the country.'

VENDÎDÂD II, 6 (see above, p. 12, note 1).

'Although Yima did not teach the law and train pupils, he was nevertheless one of the faithful and a holy man, and rendered men holy too (?).'

'That he was one of the faithful[5] appears from this passage:

---

[1] From the Haêtuma*n*t country (Saistân). See above, Vd. I, 15, note 1.

[2] The word dahâkâi, found only in K², is probably an unfortunate accretion to uzôi*s* read as a*z*ôi*s*.

[3] Ragha knows the truth, but does not like it. Unbelief is dominant there (Vd. I, 16).

[4] According to the greater Bundahi*s*, ta*o*z*y*a means tâ*g*îk, 'Arabic.' Arab tribes were established in the basin of the Rangha (the Tigris) long before the Arab conquest.

[5] vêh-dîn, a member of the Zoroastrian community (though prematurely so).

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mrûidhi ta*d* mãthwem ya*d* aêm*k*i*d* yô daêva.—

"Say that formula which even the Daêvas . . ."'

'That he was holy[1] appears from this passage:

"We sacrifice to the Fravashi of the holy Yima, son of Vîvangha*t*"' (Yt. XIII, 130).

'That he rendered men holy too (?)[2] appears from this passage:

abareshnva pas*k*aêta asâra mashyâkaêibyô[3].'

The Commentary then proceeds to state that Yima lost by his sin the gift of immortality, and remarks that *G*im and Kâûs were both created immortal (a-ôsh) and became mortal by their own fault.

'For *G*im this appears from the following passage:

"Soon he changed this[4] to death by the fault of his tongue[5]."'

'For Kâûs it appears from this passage:

"Thereupon he[6] let him flee away; whereupon mortal he became[7]."'

---

[1] ahlav, that is, 'one of the blessed.'

[2] Literally, 'he put the distinctive character of it in the body of man.'

[3] Literally, 'without a head, afterwards, without a chief, for men.'

[4] His immortality.

[5] 'When he took delight in words of falsehood and error' (Yt. XIX, 34); when he claimed the name and the worship of a god.

[6] Neryosengh, who was in the act of putting Kâûs to death.

[7] A quotation from the Sûtkar Nask, in which the legend of the greatness and fall of Kaî-Kâûs was told in full detail. Kaî-Kâûs had become king of the seven Karsvares of the Earth (cf. Yt. V, 46), and all demons and men were obedient to his word; he built seven palaces in the middle of Alborz, one of gold, two of silver, two of steel, two of crystal; and if men, broken down by age and on the point of breathing their last, were taken round his palace, they recovered at once strength and youth. But the demons, whom he kept in bonds, took counsel how to get rid of him; and to achieve

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VENDÎDÂD II, 16.

The Commentary infers from the threefold proceeding of Yima towards the South that, on entering upon any new enterprise, one must go three steps southwards and recite an ahuna vairya.

'That his creation [of the earth] became more beautiful [towards the South] appears from the passage:

usehistaḍ gâuṣ baraḍ daNhuṣ.—"The ox rose up, the land bore [fruits]."'

'That one must recite an Avesta text appears from the passage in the Pa[sû]ṣhûrûn[1]:

srîra ukhdha vaḳau sãsanghãm.—?'

'That that text is the Ahunvar appears from the passage Ahunô vairyô[2].'

---

his ruin inspired him with a disgust of his earthly sovereignty and a longing for the Kingdom of the Gods. Accordingly he went over Alborz with an army of demons and wicked men, and rushed down to the border of Darkness: there he erected a statue of clay to the Fortune of the Kaianides. Then he entered into a struggle with the Gods, and the Creator recalled to himself the royal Glory of the Kaianides, and Kâûs' army fell from above down to the earth; Kâûs himself being carried along the Frâkh-kart Sea (the Caspian Sea). And a man, closely united to him, ran after him, and after that man ran the messenger of Auhrmazd, Neryosengh. And that man, who was the still unborn Kai-Khosrav, cried out: 'Kill him not, O Neryosengh! For if thou killest him, there will be no destroyer of the chief of Tûrân: for to this man Syâvakhsh shall be born, and to Syâvakhsh, I, Kai-Khosrav, shall be born, who am going to destroy Tûrân and its king and its armies.' Neryosengh, rejoiced by these words, thereupon let Kaî-Kâûs away; thereupon he became mortal (Dînkart IX, 22, 4–12).

[1] Perhaps the Pasûṣ-haurvastân Fargard in the Ganbâsar-niǧat Nask (West, Dînkart VIII, 23, § 19?).

[2] Perhaps the passage meant is Vd. XI, 3: 'The Ahuna Vairya preserves the person of man.'

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VENDÎDÂD II, 20a (Westergaard).

'Then Yima drew to a close the holy first millennium of years[1].'

VENDÎDÂD II, 20b.

avaiti bãzô.—'Of the same thickness . . .'

'That *G*im, three times, made the earth as large as it was before, appears from the passage:

avaiti bãzô.'

VENDÎDÂD II, 20c.

'Auhrmazd kept this world for three thousand years in a spiritual shape; for three thousand years he kept it in a material shape, but without any opposition; three thousand years elapsed from the coming of the Opposition to the coming of the Religion; three thousand years will elapse from the coming of the Religion to the resurrection. As follows from the passage:

*K*va*n*tem zrvânem mainyava sti*s* ashaoni dâta as.

"How long did the holy creation remain in a spiritual form?"'

VENDÎDÂD III, 14.

nôi*d* makhshi-beretô.—'Nor brought by flies' (= Vd. V, 3; see above, p. 50).

yô vîsa*d* aêtayãm[2] zaothrãm âtarem â frabarôi*d*.

'It appears from this passage that if a man throw his

---

[1] For three times three hundred years Yima had governed and increased the earth: the last century of his millennial reign was passed in building and organising the Var. (Cf. above, p. 14, note 1.)

[2] aêtayãm in Ml[3] and B[1] (West); Spiegel has aêyãm, Westergaard has aêvãm.

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dast-shô[1] into the water, it is as if he had thrown hêhr into the fire.'

yatha narem dus*k*â zaretem.—'A righteous man bowed down with age' (see the passage given in full in the Tahmuras Fragments, § 38).

'It appears from this passage that throwing hêhr into water or fire is as bad as casting nasâ (dead matter) on one of the faithful.'

paoiryâ upaiti paoiryâ nishasta.—'For the first time he comes near unto her, for the first time he lies by her' (= Vd. XVI, 15).

VENDÎDÂD III, 15.

yâ nar*s* *hv*â-aothremahê yatô.—?

Words inserted in the London manuscript (L[4]) after the word hus*k*ô-zemôtememk*a*, as also in Vd. V, 46.

VENDÎDÂD III, 27.

bâdha idha âfrasâni daNhubyô.—?

VENDÎDÂD III, 40.

yôi he*n*ti aiNh*a*u zemô kane*n*ti.

'Those who bury [corpses] in this earth.'

---

yô nar*s* ashaonô iririthushô zemê kehrpa nikai*n*ti.

'He who buries the corpse of a righteous man who has departed . . .'

This passage is quoted by Vindâ*d*-gûshnasp, as establishing that for every one of the worms that eat up the buried corpse, the man who did the burying is liable to a tanâfûhr penalty.

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[1] The water in which he has washed his hands.

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VENDÎDÂD III, 42.

spayêiti.—'It takes away.'

An abridged expression of the principle that the Zoroastrian religion has an atonement for every crime, and that it takes away his sin from the man who confesses and expiates it (see Vd. III, 41 seq.)

parâ kavahmâd nered.—'Away from any man.'

nôid marãm pairistem.—. . .?

vanghavê mananghê.—'To Vohu Manô.'

tûiryanãm dahyunãm.—'Of the Turanian nations.'

'Gô-gûshnasp said: "In every religion there are righteous men, as appears from the passage—Of the Turanian nations;"' (that is to say, from the passage: 'We worship the Fravashis of the holy men of the Turanian nations;' Yt. XIII, 143).

VENDÎDÂD IV, 1.

yad nâ kasvikãmkina.—'The man who [entreated by one of the faithful,] does not [give him] anything, be it ever so little,' [of the riches he has treasured up] (quoted from Vd. XVIII, 34).

yavad vâ aêtê vaka framrvâna maêthemnahê hvâi pairi geurvayêiti.

'While he pronounces these words: "as long as he keep in his house (his neighbour's property), as though it were his own"' (Vd. IV, 1).

VENDÎDÂD IV, 10.

nava drugaiti khshathraêibyô.

'The Mihir-drug (the man who does not keep his word) does harm; nava drugaiti khshathraêibyô (khshôithraêibyô?).'

That is to say, the evil consequences of his perjury extend to nine cities around; he ruins his own city and the neighbouring ones (cf. Mihir Yast, 18).

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West proposes to translate khshathraêibyô 'guardianships, holdings of property, sardârîh.' 'The breach of promise subsists in one's offspring (zîyâk, Ml[3]), nava drugaiti khshathraêibyô, "it deceives for nine holdings of property,"' that is to say, for nine generations. West observes this would agree with Neryosengh's definition of nabânazdista. It agrees also with the next quotation:

nerebyô hô dãdrakhti.—[That sin] 'takes root in men.'

'The sin of perjury subsists in the child born after the perjury: nerebyô hô dãdrakhti.'

pairi aogastarô zî ahmâd.—'It becomes more violent than that (or thereby).'

VENDÎDÂD V, 2, 4.

dâyata dâitya pairisti (read pairista).—'Give lawful, well-examined wood[1].'

vîtasti-drâgô frârâthni-drâgô.—'On a Vîtasti all around [if the wood be dry], on a Frârâthni all around [if it be wet].'—An abridged quotation from Vd. VII, 29.

VENDÎDÂD V, 7.

yêzi vasen mazdayasna zãm raodhayen.

'If worshippers of Mazda want to till that piece of ground again' (from Vd. VI, 6).

On the text: 'When a man goes away, it is by the will of Fate he goes' (Vd. V, 9), the Commentary observes:

'The boon that has not been destined for a man never comes to him, as appears from the passage:

[1] Wood perfectly dry and ready for the fire; cf. Vd. XIV, 2, note 4.

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gairi masô anghô aêtahê.—. . . ?

'The boon that has been destined for him comes to him through his own active merit:

anyô eredvô-za*n*gô *hv*arenô.—"Another man, of a steady leg[1], [conquers] glory."

'He loses it by his own fault[2]:

âa*d* *hv*arenô frapiryêiti.—"He loses his Glory."

'If evil has been destined for him, he can repel it through his own active merit:

'[I see no way to kill Spitama Zarathustra], "so great is the glory of the holy Zarathustra" (Vd. XIX, 3).

aêshâm*k*a narãm.—"Of these men . . ."'

VENDÎDÂD V, 19, 21.

*k*aiti he*n*ti urvaranãm saredha.—'How many sorts of plants are there?' . . . . . .

anghvãm daênãm.—'His soul and his religion[3].'

VENDÎDÂD V, 34.

'Let no man alone by himself carry a corpse' (=Vd. III, 14).

'[If the Nasu] has [already] been expelled' (=Vd. VII, 30).

VENDÎDÂD VI, 26.

barô aspô vazô rasô.—barô applies to horse-riding, vazô applies to chariot-driving.

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[1] A sign of strength and agility (Yasna LXII, 5; Yt. X, 61).

[2] Like *G*im or Kâûs; see above, p. 262.

[3] His life, the whole of his actions, judged from the religious point of view.

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VENDÎDÂD VII, 43.

bivakayêhê.

This seems to be the name given in the Rat-dât-ît Nask to two passages in the Vendîdâd on medical examinations and doctors' fees (Vd. VII, 36–40; 41–43), or to a passage in that Nask treating of the same subjects.

stavanô vâ pûiti pâidhi davaisnê vâ.—?

VENDÎDÂD VII, 52.

§§ 53–54 in the Vendîdâd Sâda are composed of quotations in the Pahlavi Commentary in support of §§ 51, 52: 'He who should pull down Dakhmas, even so much thereof as the size of his own body, his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet (paititem); his sins in thought, word, and deed are atoned for (uzvarstem).'

paititem u vaŋhô-urvaitis u yaêŋha (read yavaêŋha).—'Patet and right of speech and for ever and ever[1].'

'Wherever the Avesta has paititem, or vaŋhô-urvaitis, or yaêŋha (read yavaêŋha), it means that the margarzân sinner has a tanâfûhr sin suppressed and a merit (karfak) of the same value substituted for it.'

adhaŋha hentiparetô-tanunãm syaothnanãm uzvarstayô.—'And these are the ways of undoing deeds that make one peshôtanu.'

yathaŋha dimganad Spitama Zarathustra yim viptem vâ.—'And if he kill the sodomite, O Spitama Zarathustra!' (cf. p. 113, n. 4).

'From this passage it appears that killing a sodomite is equal to paititem.'

---

[1] Paititem represents the formula, 'his sins in thought, word, and deed are remitted as they would be by a Patet.'—vaŋhô-urvaitis appears to stand for some formula meaning that the sinner is henceforth vaŋhô-urvaitis, that is to say, his word recovers authority (cf. Afrîngân Gâhânbâr, VIII b).—yaêŋha (read yavaêŋha) means that his sin is cancelled for ever.

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yas*k*a dim *g*ana*d* Spitama Zarathustra vehrkem yim biza*n*grem daêvayasnem peshô-tanvê.—'And he who should kill, O Spitama Zarathustra! a two-footed wolf, a Daêva-worshipper, for a peshôtanu deed.'

'From this passage it appears that killing an infidel (anêr-ê) is as much as yavaê*k*a, that is to say, his sin is rooted out of him [for ever].'

va*k*ô-urvaitis.—'The right of speech.'

haithîm ashavana bavatem.—'Both become manifestly holy[1].'

vîspem ta*d* paiti framarezaiti dusmatem*k*a.

[The celebration of the Avesta office] 'cleanses the faithful from every evil thought,' [word, and deed][2] . . .

The following quotations refer to the balance of deeds, the rules of which are stated in the Ard*â* Vîrâf:

'For every one whose good works are three Srôshô-*k*aranâm more than his sin, goes to heaven; they whose sin is more, go to hell; they in whom both are equal, remain among these Hamêstagân till the future existence[3].'

'Gô-gûshnasp says: during the sitôsh[4], sin and merit are compared:

ya*d* hê ava*d* paourum ub*g*yâitê.—"If it outweighs so much . . ."

'If sins outweigh the merits by three Srôshô-*k*aranâm, [he shall stay] in hell till the day of resurrection:

âtare vangh*a*u*d* vana*d*.—?

'If sins and merits are equal, [he shall stay] in the hamêstagân.

---

[1] Their salvation is assured.
[2] Cf. Vd. III, 42.
[3] Ard*â* Vîrâf VI, 9–11.
[4] The sadis, or the three nights that follow death.

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hãm-yâsaiti.—[The man in whom falsehood and purity] "meet equally" (= Yasna XXXIII, 1 c).

'If the merits outweigh the sins by three Srôshô-*k*aranâm, [he shall go] to the heavens:

aiNh*a*u âtare vanâ*d*.—?

'If he has offered up a sacrifice, his merits are above his sins by one tanâfûhr, and he goes to the Garôthmân:

aêtahê thnasa*d* *d*bishanguha.—?

'Afrag says: the words

avava*dk*i*d* yatha hvô peresahê

show that more than one tanâfûhr is needed. Some say four tanâfûhrs are needed:

yô tûiryâbi*s*.—"Qui quartis."

tishrãm khshapanãm.—[The tortures] "of the three nights[1]."'

VENDÎDÂD VII, 72.

yêzi aêshãm patarô ishare-*s*tâitya.—'If their fathers at once . . .'

The Pahlavi text is too corrupt for the connection between the quotation and the Zend text to be clear.

VENDÎDÂD VIII, 22, 74.

yatha makhshy*a*u perenem yatha vâ aperenahê.—'As much as a fly's wing, or of a wingless . . .' (?)

74. Burning a corpse is a capital crime. Is it allowable to burn the living?

'Gô-gûshnasp said: If it is for punishment, it must be done

ya*d* ahmi (or hama) ava (avi) nôi*d* aoshem nadhô saosun*k*ayô.—"In such a way that death should not be produced by burning."'

---

[1] Cf. Yt. XXII, 19–36; or Bundahi*s* XXX, 16.

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VENDÎDÂD VIII, 80.

The domestic fire smites the demons only at midnight; the Bahrâm fire, if called by its name Bahrâm (Varahrân, victorious), smites them by thousands at every moment. That appears from the passage:

aogaiti.—'He calls him . . .'

VENDÎDÂD VIII, 103.

fravairi (r. frakairi) frakerenaod vâstrê verezyôid. —'He may then sow and till the pasture fields' (cf. below, Vd. XIX, 41).

VENDÎDÂD IX, 32.

nava vîbâzva drâgô.—'A space of nine Vîbâzus square' (Vd. IX, 2).

pankadasa zemô hankanayen.—'Fifteen times shall they take up dust from the ground' [for him to rub his body; Vd. IX, 30].

'If the man who is being cleansed does not perform the pankadasa, the whole of the operation is null and void.'

VENDÎDÂD XII, 7.

kaininô hvatô puthrem.—'A young woman [who kills] her own child . . .'

This is very likely a quotation, similar to Vd. XV, 10, which crept from the old Commentary to Vd. XII, now lost, into the Sâda text.

VENDÎDÂD XIII, 9.

If a man kill a dog, the dogs that guard the Kinvad bridge will not help him against the demons in his passage from this world to the next. 'Some mean thereby the divine keepers of the bridge,

yayau asti anyô Rashnus Razistô.—"Of whom one is Rashnu Razista[1]."'

[1] See Yast XII.

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VENDÎDÂD XIII, 34.

vaêibya naêmaêibya.—'By the two sides' [of the collar they shall tie it; Vd. XIII, 30].

VENDÎDÂD XIII, 48.

spânahê.—'Of the dog-kind.'

VENDÎDÂD XV, 10.

'If an unmarried woman bear a child, without fault of her own, and a relation, to save her honour, acknowledges the child, and the members of the family acquiesce in it, from that time they shall protect her,

avavata aogangha yatha yad panka narô.—"With as much energy as five men."'

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 1.

'The paitidâna or padâm[1] falls by two fingers below the mouth. That appears from the passage:

baê-erezu-frathanghem. . .—"On a length of two fingers."'

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 2.

baê-erezu âi ashâum Zarathustra.—'By two fingers, O holy Zarathustra!' (see preceding fragment).

'The serpent-killer (khrafstraghna, mâr-kûn) may be made of any substance; leather is better, as appears from the passage:

Vohu Manangha ganaiti apemkid Angrô Mainyus. —"He repels Angra Mainyu with Vohu Manô[2]."'

---

[1] See above, p. 172, note 10.

[2] Vohu Manô as the Amshaspand of cattle; see above, pp. 215–216, note 6.

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VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 14.

barôithrô-taêzem.—'His sharp-pointed weapon.'

Said of Sraosha, 'who goes through the bright *Hv*aniratha Karshvare, holding in his hands his sharp-pointed weapon' (Yasna LVII, 31).

*hv*tâ[1] frashusaiti Sraoshô ashyô.—'The pious, sovereign Sraosha advances' [over Arezahi and Savahi].

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 44.

'As large as the top joint of the little finger' (Vd. VI, 10).

VENDÎDÂD XVIII, 70.

The word afsmani*v*au[2] is interpreted:

ya*d* a*n*tare veredhka mare*g*a (W. asma-re*g*a; read spare*g*a (?) = Persian siparz).—'What is between the kidneys and the spleen.'

VENDÎDÂD XIX, 41.

nazdistâ*d* daNhâvô yaozdâthryâ*d* ha*k*a frakairê frakerenao*d* vâstrê verezyôi*d* pasus-*hv*arethem gavê *hv*arethem.—'When he has been cleansed in the next inhabited place, he may then sow and till the pasture fields, as food for the sheep and food for the ox[3].'

---

[1] *hv*tâ is the Pâzand transcription of khûtâi, translating âhûirya.

[2] afsmani*v*au, entrails (?); see above, p. 207, note 2.

[3] Quoted, in an abridged form, in Farg. VIII, 103, with reference to the unclean man who finds himself in the country, far from any inhabited place.

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V. TAHMURAS' FRAGMENTS.

These fifty-three Zend fragments, of which only ten were already known, are found in a sort of Pahlavi catechism of questions and answers, contained in a manuscript belonging to the well-known Pahlavi scholar, Tahmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, at Bombay, who most kindly let me have a copy of the Zend texts. These texts are quotations introduced into the answers in support of the dogmatic statements contained in those replies; and sometimes they are not given in full, but only announced by their first or some other typical words. We had not the whole of the treatise at hand, so that the circumstances of which the Zend quotations were explanatory are unknown. However, the Pahlavi translation which accompanies the Zend text, and which, in the cases when the quotation is abridged, is more complete than the fragment given, offers generally sufficient help for a correct understanding of the original.

Tahmuras' manuscript is Irânî (written in Persia): it was finished on the 19th day (Farvardîn) of the 8th month (Âvân) of the year 978 after the 20th year of Yazdgard, that is to say, in 1629, by Frêdûn Marzpân. It was copied from his father's copy of a manuscript written by Gôpatshâh Rustam, who himself transcribed from a manuscript by Kai Khosrav Syâvakhsh, who lived in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The text is sufficiently correct to allow of the task of translation, as most of the barbarous forms, in which it is not deficient, generally find their explanation in the Pahlavi translation. Though we have already published the text in our French translation of the Avesta, yet as it has not been hitherto incorporated in any general edition of the Avesta, we have thought it useful to have it reprinted here, for the use of those who have not access to the editio princeps. As to the Pahlavi translation, which was our principal and best guide in the interpretation of the text, we beg to refer to the Commentary in our French Avesta, where it is given in full.

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V. TAHMURAS' FRAGMENTS.

V.

1. Mazd*a*u ava*d* od ol vakhsha*d* manangh*a*u (Yasna XXXI, 6 c).

VI.

2. Frôtâi*s* vîspâi*s* *k*anvatô frafrâ peretûm (Yasna XLVI, 10 e).

VII.

3. Vehrkâi hizvãm adadhâiti yô razrazdâi (read azrazdâi) mãthrem *k*istê.

VIII.

4. Mâ *k*i*s* a*d* v*e* dregvatô mãthrãs*k*â gûstâ sâsn*a*us*k*â (Yasna XXXI, 18 a).

5. Âzî demânem vîsem vâ shôithrem vâ dahyûm vâ âdâ*d* (ibid., b).

6. Dusitâ*k*â marekaê*k*â athâ î*s* rûstâk sâzdûm snaêthi*s*â (ibid., c).

---

[1] The missing paragraphs are those which contain no Zend quotations.

[2] Mazda reigns in man when Good Thought (Vohu Manô) is predominant in him; that is to say, he reigns in the righteous and through the righteous.

[3] 'All those whom I shall impel to address their prayers to you, O Ahura Mazda!' that is to say, all those whom I shall win to Ahura's worship.

[4] 'The Aharmôk (the heretic): thereby the Aharmôk grows more violent in the world' (Comm.)

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V. TAHMURAS' FRAGMENTS.

V[1].

1. For Mazda reigns according as Vohu Manô[2] waxeth (Yasna XXXI, 6 c).

VI.

2. For all of them[3] shall a path be opened across the *K*invad bridge (Yasna XLVI, 10 e).

VII.

3. He gives a tongue to the wolf[4], who imparteth the Holy Word to the heretic[5].

VIII.

4. Hearken not to the Law and the Doctrine in the mouth of the unrighteous[6];

5. He would bring unto the house, the borough, the district, and the country

6. Misfortune and death. Teach him with the thrust of the sword[7]! (Yasna XXXI, 18).

---

[5] A quotation from the Nîrangistân, or rather Erpatistân; see below, Nîrang. § 17.

[6] 'Hear not the Avesta and Zand (the Holy Scripture and its interpretation) from the mouth of the heretic' (Comm.)

[7] The good old principle of king Saint-Louis: 'Nulz, se il n'est très bon clers, ne doit disputer à aus (the Jews); mais li hom lays, quant il ot mesdire de la loy crestienne, ne doit pas défendre la loy crestienne, ne mais de l'espée, de quoy i doit donner parmi le ventre dedens, tant comme elle y peut entrer' (Joinville). The word rûstâk, in the text, must have been a Pahlavi gloss to the Avesta shôithrem in § 5.

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IX.

7. Paôiryêhê mithôhitahê thrî maêsmã shamãn ashamâ*d*;

8. Bithyêhê khshavash thrityêhê nava tûiryêhê thrî vâ azaiti sraoshô*k*aranaya a*s*traya.

X.

9. Nôi*d* marahê nôi*d* *g*ahikaya*s*u nôi*d* sûnô nôi*d* hukhshathrahê nôi*d* daêvayasnô nôi*d* tanuperethahê.

XI.

10. Hishemnô vâ *a*unghânô vâ dathânô vâ baremnô vâ vazemnô vâ aiwyâstô atha ratufri*s* (Nîrangistân, § 37).

XII (Nîrangistân, § 109).

11. Vangharestas*k*i*d* maghneñtas*k*i*d* srâvayôi*s*,

. . . . . .

12. Yêzii i*s*tê nôi*d* i*s*ti nôi*d* ashavanem ainishti*s* âstârayêiti.

XIII–XVI.

XIII.—13. Huma*d* (read ahuma*d*) ratuma*d* vahi*s*tem vao*k*atâ Spetama Zarathu*s*tra,

14. Kem*k*i*d* angheu*s* astvatô aôi.

---

[1] It is not likely that a 'false word' means here a 'lie;' it means more probably a verbal mistake in the recitation or study of the Avesta text, which, when accidental, is atoned for by gômêz; but when repeated, through want of attention, is punished with the Sraoshô-*k*arana.

[2] The same as gômêz or nîrang-dîn.

[3] As long as he wears the Kosti and Sadere (Vd. XVIII, 54).

[4] § 10 = Nîrangistân 37.

[5] 'Even if he wear not the Kosti and Sadere, even if stark

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IX.

7. At the first false word[1] he shall drink three sips of maêsma[2];

8. At the second, six; at the third, nine; at the fourth he shall be smitten with three strokes of the Sraoshô-*k*arana or Astra.

X.

9. Neither of a snake, nor of a whore, nor of a hound, nor of a wild boar, nor of a Daêva-worshipper, nor of a Pesôtanu.

XI.

10. Standing, or sitting, or lying down, riding or driving, so as he wears the girdle[3], he has gratified the Lord[4].

XII.

11. Even uncovered and naked he will chant,

12. If he have the means[5]. If he have no means, his poverty shall not be counted for unrighteousness to the godly[6].

XIII–XVI.

XIII.—13. Declare that the most excellent of all things, O Spitama Zarathustra! is to have an Ahu and a Ratu[7],

14. For every man of this world here below.

---

naked, he will chant (that is, he will celebrate the festivity), if he can' (Comm.)

[6] §§ 11–12 = Nîrangistân 109.

[7] There is no well-ordered society that does not rest upon the authority of the prince and the priest, the temporal Lord (ahu = khûtâi) and the spiritual Lord (ratu = magûpat, dastôbar).—Sometimes the ratu is also called ahu.—Cf. §§ 72–74.

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15. Mare*n*tem verezan*t*em sikhshe*n*tem sâ*k*aya*n*-tem paiteshe*n*tem gaêthâbyô astvaêtibyô ashahê.

XIV.—16. An*a*unghô aratvô a*k*istem;

17. Du*z*anghavô.

XV.—18. Nôi*d* z*i* *k*is asraôshyanãm tanunãm ashahê urva *k*ithiâi v*i*dâiti.

19. Nôi*d* kayadhem ha*n*daraitê.

XVI.—20. Zad (read ya*d*?) daênay*a*u mâzda-yasnôi*s* sravô.

21. Srâvayôi*s* staôta yêsnya.

XVII.

22. Mâ z*i* ahmi nmânê mâ aNhê vîsê mâ ahmi za*n*tavô mâ aNhê daNhvô frîm vaô*k*ata mãm yim Ahurem Mazdãm,

23. Yatha mê nôi*d* âtar*s* Ahurahê Mazd*a*u fryô angha*d* nâ*k*a ashava frâyô-humatô frâyô-hûkhtô frâyô-hvarstô.

XVIII.

24. Tanu-mazô ashayâiti yô tanu-mazô bîraosha*d* (read draosha*d*).

25. Tanu-mazô z*i* aêtyãm*k*i*d* ashayãm pfrê (read pafrê).

26. Y*a*u nôi*d* yava mithô mamnê nôi*d* mithô vava*k*a nôi*d* vavareza.

XIX.

27. Aêibyô yô i*d* atha verezyãn yathâ i*d* astî (Yasna XXXV, 6; Sp. 18).

---

[1] 'For the man who has no guide, being unable to do good works according to the advice of his Dastôbar, cannot redeem his soul with his holiness; that is to say, cannot undo his evil deeds with good deeds' (Comm.) Cf. §§ 24–26.

[2] §§ 22–23=§§ 85–86.

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15. (An Ahu and a Ratu) studious and communicant, learning and teaching, loving with a love for ever renewed, in the bodily world of Righteousness.

XIV.—16. (Declare) that the worst of all evils is to have no Ahu and no Ratu;

17. Or to have an evil Ahu.

XV.—18. For the soul of them who have no guide[1] can never offer up a merit to expiate a sin.

19. . . . . XVI. 20, 21. . . . . ?

XVII.

22[2]. Say not they treat me friendly, me, Ahura Mazda, in the house, in the borough, in the district, in the country,

23. Where they treat not friendly the Fire of me, Ahura Mazda, and the holy man, rich in good thoughts, rich in good words, rich in good deeds[3].

XVIII.

24. He must accomplish an act of merit of the value of a tanu-mazô[4], he who hath committed a falsehood of the value of a tanu-mazô.

25. For he layeth up the merit of a tanu-mazô,

26. While he never sinneth a sin of a tanu-mazô, in false thoughts, in false words, in false deeds.

XIX.

27[5]. [That which a man or a woman knoweth clearly to be right, let him or her declare as he knoweth it, let him enact it, let him teach it]

[3] Cf. Srôsh Yast 14.

[4] Tanu-mazô, lit. 'of the value of a tanu-peretha,' means a deed evil or good, which deserves or redeems a tanu-peretha (tanâfûhr) penalty (200 strokes with the Sraoshô-*k*arana).

[5] §§ 27–28 = Yasna XXXV, 6–7.

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28. Ahurâ zî a*d* vî Mazda*u* yasnem*k*a vahmem*k*a vahistem (ibid. 7; Sp. 19, 20).

XX.

29. Imâ â*d* ukhdhâ va*k*a*u* Ahura Mazda*u* ashem manya*u* vahya*u* frâvaô*k*âma*u* (Yasna XXXV, 9; Sp. 24).

30. Thwãm a*d* aêshãm paityâstârem*k*â fradahstârem*k*â dademaidê (ibid. 9; Sp. 25).

31. [Ashâ] ashâ a*dk*â [read ashâa*dk*â] ha*k*â vanghe*usk*â mananghô vanghe*usk*â khshathrâ*d* (ibid. 10; Sp. 26).

XXI.

32. Niwyêiti zî Spetama Zarathustra âtar*s* Ahurahê Mazda*u* ha*k*a yashtibyô aiwyô.

33. Mãnayen ahê yatha nâ snaithi*s* asnê nighmatem paiti-vaênôi*d*,

34. Ishûm vâ arshtim vâ fradakhshtanãm vâ ava*d* paiti pâpayamnô,

35. Vî*d*vâ ava*d* hava khrathwa yêzi mâ hâu nâ ava snaithi*s* aôi ava asnavâ*d* vî mãm urvaêsayâ*d* asta*k*a ustâna*k*a.

XXII.

36. Yas*k*a mê tâya*us**k*a hazahîs*k*a vîvâpa*us**k*a vîvara*us**k*a draogînô-bareta*us**k*a zaôthra*u* frabarâ*d*,

---

[1] §§ 29–31 = Yasna XXXV, 9–10.

[2] The whole of the sacred words, 'the Religion of Auhrmazd' (Comm.)

[3] 'From thee of all the Amshaspands we receive most' (knowledge and truth) (Comm.)

[4] Ahura is the best and most demonstrative teacher; (cf. Yasna LI, 3 c).

[5] The first three Amesha Spe*n*tas.

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To others who shall perform it in their turn, even as he or she hath declared it.

28. Now, that which we consider as the best of all things, O Ahura Mazda! is prayer and sacrifice offered to Ahura Mazda.

XX.

29[1]. And these words[2], O Ahura Mazda! we utter with the perfect intention of holiness.

30. And amongst them (the Amesha Spe*n*tas), we look chiefly unto thee, to grant unto us[3] and to instruct us[4];

31. For more than Asha, more than Vohu Manô, more than the righteous Khshathra[5] [thy glorification is above all glorification . .].

XXI.

32. For, O Spitama Zarathustra! the fire of Ahura Mazda trembles in front of boiling water[6];

33. Like a man who seeth a weapon which comes nigh him,

34. Or an arrow or lance, or a stone from a sling, and who avoideth the blow,

35. Saying to himself: 'If that man strike me with his weapon, my body and soul will part asunder.'

XXII.

36. And he who offers me the libations of a thief[7], or a robber, or a ravisher, . . . or libations offered by a liar,

---

[6] For fear of its boiling over. If it does so and extinguishes the fire, the person in charge is guilty of a tanu-peretha sin (Saddar XLVIII).

[7] The priest who offers me libations for a thief.

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37. Di*z*a*d* z*i* mãm avavata dakhsha y tha ana mashyâkâ angrahê mainy*eu*s asti*sk*a.

XXIII.

38. Sterenôiti ana avava starem aina yatha narem ashavanem du*sk*â zaretem uparâ*d* naêmâ*d* nasu*s* aôi ava thravi*d*.

39. Naê*k*a pas*k*aêta haô nâ ahma*d* ha*k*a gâtao*d* isaêta frashûtôi*d* nôi*d* apashûtôi*d* thrayãm *k*ina gâmanãm.

XXIV.

40. Aêvaya*k*i*d* aêsmô-bereitê aêvaya*k*i*d* baresmôstereiti,

41. Barezyô ashava zarahê hi*s* dru*g*em.

42. Frâdhâiti ashem

43. Vîspem ashavanem vahi*s*tem â ahûm â baraiti

44. (cf. § 74) Shâtem da*d*aiti urvânem ashaonô irîritânahê.

XXV, XXVI.

XXV.—45. Hâu*k*a ithra Spitama Zarathu*s*tra takhmanãm ta*nk*istô paiti-*g*asâ*d* yô aêta hi*s*kyâta hi*s*kyânaôtemem paiti-*g*asâ*d*,

46. Arem maiti mata mamnê arem mûkhti (read ûkhti) khûkhti (read hûkhti) arem var*s*ti hvare*s*ta.

---

[1] 'A man burning with fever' (which is a fire sent by Ahriman).

[2] This fragment, which refers to the same subject as fragment XXI, is quoted in an abridged form in the Pahlavi Vendîdâd III, 14 (see Fragments to the Vendîdâd), to show that throwing hêhr (water soiled) into water or fire is as bad as casting nasâ (dead matter) on one of the faithful.

[3] The old man defiled with the Nasu.

[4] As he cannot venture into contact with the faithful till he has been purified (cf. Vd. VIII, 35 sq.)

[5] It looks as if the five quotations of which this fragment is

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37. He burneth me with the same burning that burneth a man possessed by Angra Mainyu [1].

XXIII [2].

38. And he sins towards the Fire the same sin as if he cast the Nasu upon a righteous man bowed down with age;

39. And thenceforth from that place, such a one [3] shall not go three steps forwards nor three steps backwards [4].

XXIV [5].

40. For a single gift of wood, for a single offering of Baresman,

41. The Righteous is exalted and the Drug is weakened.

42. For by such things waxeth the Asha [6],

43. And every Righteous man is borne up to Paradise,

44. And joy is given to the soul of the Righteous man who has departed [7].

XXV, XXVI [8].

XXV.—45. Such a one, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall arrive there as the strongest of the strong, who here below most powerfully impelleth the righteous unto good works,

46. To think perfect thoughts, speak perfect words, and do perfect deeds.

---

composed did not form a continuous sentence. Only the last three seem to form a coherent whole.

[6] The Pahlavi translation adds here: 'waxeth the flock, waxeth the fire,' as if the Zend text were incomplete. Cf. Vd. III, 3.

[7] Cf. § 74.

[8] The general meaning of these two fragments is that the man who impels his brethren to do good will enter Paradise.

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XXVI.—47. Hâu aithra (read ithra) Spetama Zarathustra ukhdhô-vaḳãm ukhdhô-vaḳastemô paiti-gasâd drughîmḳa drîvîmḳa arathwyô-beretê baremnê

48. Hvãm *ḳid* ahmi hvãm *ḳid* khshathrê avad ḳôista.

49. Yênhê vaḳanghô nemanghô spnâthrem (read khshnaothrem).

50. Âhishti (read âkhshti) sahethrem (read sakhethrem).

51. Ârmaitê darethrem.

52. Frârâiti vîidîm.

53. Ainitis aêsô vâhs (read vâkhs).

XXVII.

54. Ḳad tê asti Ahunahê vairyêhê haithîm?

55. Paiti-sê ukhtâ Ahurô Mazdau manô bâ vohu Zarathustra ad aôyemnem ad aôyamnâd khrataod;

56. Zazusu vîspaêsu vanghusô zazusu vîspaêsu ashô-ḳithraêsu.

---

[1] There above, in the heavens.

[2] 'That is to say, he has made much gâtakgôbîh (gâdangôi) for the sake of the poor, men and women' (Comm.) Making gâdangôi is collecting money for the poor, or for any pious work. If a man come to me and say, 'I have no work to do, give me work,' and I apply to somebody else who gives him work, I have done gâdangôi, and the merit is the same as if I had given it myself (Saddar XXII).

[3] In his sphere of influence.

[4] The celebrated Dastûr under Shâhpûhr II, the last editor of the Avesta: cf. General Introduction.

[5] A treatise lost, in Pahlavi.

[6] The five following disconnected lines are abridged Zend quotations, answering to the five terms of Âtûrpât's phrase, and refer each to one of the five virtues that are recommended.

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XXVI.—47. Such a one, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall arrive there [1] as the best of intercessors, who here below intercedeth for the poor man and the poor woman in their distress [2];

48. Who doeth it himself and teaches it to others in his kingdom [3].

The blessed Âtûrpât, son of Mahraspand [4], in his Instruction to a disciple [5], says: 'Be a man of prayer; a man of peace, a man of perfect piety, a man of liberality, and without rancour. These are the virtues one must acquire, as it is said in the Scriptures:

49 [6]. . . . whose words of prayer rejoice [the gods] [7].

50. Teaching in peace [8].

51. In perfect piety keeping (Religion) [9].

52. Science in giving [10].

53. His word is without rancour [11].'

XXVII.

54. In what fashion is manifest thy Ahuna Vairya [12]?

55. Ahura Mazda made answer: By Good Thought in perfect unity with Reason, O Zarathustra!

56. Taking all good things, taking all that is the offspring of the Good Principle [13].

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[7] Answering to the words, 'man of prayer,' in Âtûrpât's sentence.

[8] Answering to the words, 'man of peace.'

[9] Answering to the words, 'man of perfect piety.' Cf. Vp. II, 5 (Sp. 10).

[10] Answering to the words, 'man of liberality.'

[11] Answering to the words, 'and without rancour.'

[12] The Zoroastrian prayer *κατ' ἐξοχήν* (Vd. VIII, 19, note 2). The question amounts to: 'How does it become clear that a man is devoted to religion?' (Comm.)

[13] Doubtful.

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XXVIII.

57. Mananghas*k*a ahumaiti (read humaiti) hizvas*k*a hûkhta zastayas*k*a varsti arathwyô-varsti (read rathwyô-varsti).

58. Nazdyô ahmi Zarathustra azem yô Ahurô Mazd*a*u vîspahê angh*e*us astvatô maman*a*us*k*a va*k*as*k*a shôthna*k*a,

59. Yatha *a*ungha (read n*a*ungha) ha*k*a gaosaêibyô yatha vâ gaosa ha*k*a thranghibyô.

XXIX.

60. *G*araôis haônem (read haomem) Zarathustra bisarem*k*a thresarem*k*a yatha thresarem nitemem.

XXX, XXXI.

XXX.—61. Vîspaê*k*a a*n*tare ashem upa haushtuay*a*u,

62. Fraore*d* frakhni (read frakhshni) aôi manô zarazdâtôi*d* anghuya*d* ha*k*a.

XXXI.—63. Vîsp*a*u a*n*tare vyânîs.

XXXII.

64. Yêiti *k*ati*k*a Spetama Zarathustra dahmô ashava haurvî ratûs dath*a*d,

65. A*d* *k*i*d* dim aiwyâiti yâ dahma vanghi âfritis ustrahê kehrpa aghryêhê aghryô madhi-mastemahê.

---

[1] This fragment belonged to the Rat-dât-ît Nask, which treated of 'the proximity of Aûhrmazd to the thoughts, words, and deeds of the material world' (Dînkart VIII, viii, 4).

[2] The Qur'ân (4, 15) has a formula which strangely reminds one of this sentence: 'But we created man, and we know what his soul whispers; for we are nigher to him than his jugular vein.'

[3] 'At the third time, take least. The Dastûrs have said: each time take three-fifths' (of what there is). This refers very likely to the tasting of Haoma in the Haoma sacrifice (Yasna XI, 11).

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XXVIII.

57. Of the mind, good thoughts; of the tongue, good words; of the hand, good works, make the virtuous life.

58[1]. I, Ahura Mazda, am closer, O Zarathustra! to that which all the bodily world thinketh, speaketh, and worketh,

59. Than the nose is to the ears, or than the ears are to the mouth[2].

XXIX.

60. Take of the Haoma, O Zarathustra! twice or thrice; but the third time be sparing[3].

XXX, XXXI[4].

XXX.—61. In the interval[5], nothing but fair recitations of the Ashem Vohû[6],

62. Done with a fervent conviction and a devoted soul;

XXXI.—63. And in the interval do nothing but look on[7].

XXXII, XXXIII.

XXXII.—64. Each time, O Spitama Zarathustra! that the righteous, the godly man offers the sacrifice complete;

65. Then cometh unto him the good, godly Âfriti[8], in the shape of a camel of price, in full heat[9].

---

[4] These two fragments seem to refer to the plucking of the Baresma twigs.

[5] While the different twigs are plucked. Cf. Vd. XIX, 18.

[6] A prayer, next in holiness to the Ahuna Vairya. See its translation, Vd. XIX, 22.

[7] Cf. Vd. XIX, 19; Nîr. 97 seq.

[8] The Âfrîn Dahmân, a prayer of blessing on the house of the faithful (cf. Yasna LX).

[9] The camel in heat is strongest (Yt. XIV, 12 seq.) and therefore the best symbol of the strength that the Âfrîn Dahmân brings with it. Cf. Dînkart IX, 22, 2.

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XXXIII.—66. Nôi*d* tê ahmâ*d* drâ*g*ôyêitîm framraômi Spetama Zarathu*s*tra yãm dahmãm vanghîm âfrîtîm,

67. Yûna*d* ha*k*a hahi humananghad hva*k*anghad hushya*u*thna*d* hudaêna*d*,

68. Yatha paôurvô aêvô savô aêvô armô ranghãm ava nâyêi*n*tîm savava*u* de*d* (or be*d*) *k*i*s* âitê.

XXXIV.

69. Ka*d* tê râzarê ka*d* zî Mazda (Yasna XXXIV, 12 a).

70. A*d* môi a*d* râtãm ukhdhahyâ*k*â sraôshem khshathrem*k*â (Yasna XXXIII, 14).

71. Para tê gaôspa*u*nta gaôhuda*u* baôdhas*k*a urvânem*k*a fraêshyâmahê nazdi*s*ta upa thwares*t*a rao*k*au nar*s* *k*ashmana*u* sûkem.

XXXV.

72. Ashâi vahi*s*tâi ya*d* huferethwem dâ*s*tô-ratô,

73. Berezad-varezi haômananghem,

74. Ya*d* irîrithânê ashaonô shâtem dathâiti urvânem.

XXXVI.

75. Âvi*s*ka na*u* a*n*tare he*n*tû nema*hv*aêti*s* *k*ithra*u* râtayô (Yasna XXXIII, 7 c)!

76. Ta*u* âvi*s* ya*u* râtayô a*n*tare ameshesa spe*n*te saoshya*n*tas*k*a;

---

[1] Yasna XXXIV, 12 a, 'A query of Zartusht, asking for wisdom' (Comm.)

[2] Ahura is supposed to speak of Zarathustra. The quotation is altered from Yasna XXXIII, 14.

[3] The primeval Bull, Gaush aêvôdata (Vd. XXI, 1).

[4] His soul, after his death, was sent to Heaven as Geush urvan (Goshûrûn), the deity that takes care of domestic animals.

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XXXIII.—66. I declare unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the holy Benediction of the Righteous shall not fail (?) thee more,

67. O youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good works, and the good Religion,

68. Than . . . . . ?

XXXIV.

69. How hast thou ordained things? How, O Mazda [1]!

70. To me he gives obedience to and ruling through the holy Word [2].

71. Thy sense and thy soul, O Bull beneficent [3]! giver of good things, we send towards the heavenly luminaries [4] and thy sight within the eyes of man [5].

XXXV.

72. Asha Vahista giveth a good passage to whoso hath a spiritual Master [6],

73. For his noble deeds and for his virtuous thoughts,

74. And he giveth joy to the soul of the righteous man that has departed [7].

XXXVI.

75. Grant that the gifts we pray for appear before us [8]!

76. The gifts manifest between the Amesha Spe*n*tas and the Saoshya*n*ts [9];

---

[5] Doubtful.

[6] Cf. §§ 13–19.

[7] Cf. § 44.

[8] Yasna XXXIII, 7 c.

[9] This seems to mean: the gifts which the Amesha Spe*n*tas reserve for the Saoshya*n*ts (the great saints).

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77. Frârâitîs*k*a vîdûsha*u*s*k*a a*n*tare *hv*âdaêna*u* ashaonîs.

XXXVII, XXXVIII.

XXXVII.—78. Âa*d* yô aêtahmi anghvô ya*d* astava*n*ti Spetama Zarathu*s*tra upairi hunarem manô bara*d*,

79. Vîspem aêtem paiti zrvânem astarem urva kâsaya*d*.

XXXVIII.—80. Âa*d* ya*d* hê manahê paiti bara*d*,

81. Âa*d* ya*d* hê manahi paiti ava baraitê,

82. Pas*k*aêta azem yô Ahurô Mazda*u* aôi urunê urvâsma daêsayêni,

83. Vahistem*k*a ahûm anaghra*k*a raô*k*a*u* afrasanghãn*k*a *hv*âthra,

84. Vîspâ yûm*k*a ustatâs yâ nars sâdra dregvatô.

85, 86 = 22, 23.

XXXIX.

87. Para mê aêtahmi anghvô ya*d* astvai*n*ti Spetama Zarathu*s*tra thris*k*i*d* vahista anghê astvaitê vîsata:

88. Mana*k*a yasnem ya*d* Ahurahê Mazda*u* âthras*k*a Ahurahê Mazda*u* yasnem*k*a vahmem*k*a hubereitîm*k*a usta-bereitîm*k*a va*n*ta-bereitîm*k*a;

89. Nars*k*a ashaonô khshnûitîm*k*a â reitîm*k*a vyâdas*k*a paiti paitizai*n*tyas*k*a frâyô-humatahê frâyô-hûkhtahê frâyô-hvareshtahê.

---

[1] Mutual Charity due from and to Mazdeans.

[2] Literally, 'his soul carries sin.' [3] I will give bliss to his soul.

[4] No man absolutely deserves bliss. Cf. Yasna LXII, 6: 'O Fire, son of Ahura Mazda! give me, however unworthy I am, now and for ever, the bright, all-happy Paradise of the righteous.'

[5] 'The righteous are rewarded, while the wicked are punished' (Comm. ad Visparad XVIII, 2). The line is from Yasna XLV, 7.

[6] The three best things in the world are respect shown to Ahura, respect shown to the fire, and respect shown to the righteous.

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77. The holy liberality and bounteousness that reign between brethren in the Faith [1].

XXXVII, XXXVIII.

XXXVII.—78. He who in this bodily world, O Spitama Zarathustra! deemeth overweening well of his own merit,

79. All the time that he doeth this, his soul becomes burdened with sin [2].

XXXVIII.—80. But if he deemeth justly of his own merit,

81. Or if he rate it lower than the truth,

82. Then I, the Maker Ahura Mazda, will make his soul see Joy [3],

83. And Paradise, boundless Light, undeserved felicity [4],

84. And Happiness eternal, while the wicked is in pain [5].

85, 86 = 22, 23.

XXXIX.

87. As for me in this bodily world, O Spitama Zarathustra! the three best things of the world are [6]:

88. The sacrifice offered to me, Ahura Mazda; the sacrifice and prayer, the bounteous free offering, the free offering of pleasure [7], the free offering of assistance [8] made unto the fire of Ahura Mazda;

89. And the pleasure, the graciousness, the gifts, the deference shown unto the righteous, rich in good thoughts, rich in good words, rich in good works.

---

[7] The offering that rejoices the fire (that increases the brightness and gaiety of its light and its sound).

[8] The offering that feeds him and makes him stronger.

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XL, XLI.

XL.—90. Mâ*k*a tê ithra Spetama Zarathustra astvatahê angheus didrezvô pisa manahîm paiti raêkhsisa.

XLI.—91. Yô zî Spetama Zarathustra astvahê angheus didrezvô pisa mananghîm ahûm paiti erenâisti,

92. Nôi*d* hê gâus bva*d* nôi*d* ashem nôi*d* rao*k*ô nôi*d* vahistô anghus yô mana ya*d* Ahurahê Mazdau.

93. Bva*d* vîspanãm asha-*k*ithranãm paôishestem*k*a ya*d* ereghad daozanghum.

XLII.

94. Yava*d* nû asha va*k*aiti (read va*n*daiti?) Spetama Zarathustra vîspa tarsu*k*a khshudra*k*a vnaiti (read va*n*daiti) anamasna*k*a vanghuna*k*a thrayana*k*a.

XLIII.

95. Nôi*d* nmânô-bakhtem nôi*d* vîspê-bakhtem noi*d* za*n*tu-bakhtem nôi*d* daNhu-bakhtem;

96. Nôi*d* framanîm brâthranãm âzîzustê;

97. Nôi*d* astô htastîm (read hutastîm) nôi*d* tanvô huraôîm (read huraoidhîm).

98. Ta*d* zî ashava Zarathustra *k*inma kahyâ*k*i*d* angheus astvatô yô ashahê *k*inma vastemô angha*d*.

XLIV.

99. Nôi*d* nû aêtahmi anghvô ya*d* astva*n*ti Spe*n*-

---

[1] 'To get treasures of gold and silver' (Comm.)

[2] The other world, Paradise.

[3] He will not see Goshûrûn, who sits in the sphere of the sun (Bundahis IV).

[4] He will not see Asha Vahishta (Ardibahisht), who is both the second Amshaspand and the impersonation of holiness and subsequent bliss.

[5] Asha, righteousness, obtains everything; that is to say, that all the good things of the world are a reward that attends piety.

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XL, XLI.

XL.—90. To obtain the treasures of the material world[1], O Spitama Zarathustra! forego not the world of the Spirit[2].

XLI.—91. For he who, O Spitama Zarathustra! to obtain the treasures of the material world destroyeth the world of the Spirit,

92. Such a one shall possess neither the Bull[3], nor Asha[4], neither the Celestial Light, nor the Paradise of me, Ahura Mazda.

93. But he shall possess the filthiest of all things, horrible Hell.

XLII.

94. All these things Asha obtaineth[5], O Spitama Zarathustra! it obtaineth everything good, corn and drinks, ever so great, so good, so goodly.

XLIII.

95. One cannot have for the wishing the power of head of the house, head of the borough, head of the district, head of the province[6];

96. Neither authority over brethren[7];

97. Neither a well set up frame and a lofty stature[8].

98. But there is one thing that every man in this world below may love, O Spitama Zarathustra! he may love Virtue.

XLIV.

99. [But][9] at present in this world below, O Spi-

[6] This is a privilege the possession of which does not depend on our free will, as it depends on heredity or the will of the prince.

[7] This depends on age.

[8] This depends on nature's caprice.

[9] We add 'but' on the assumption that this fragment is the continuation of the preceding.

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tama Zarathustra aêvô nôid dva nôid thrâyô nôid frâyanghô ashahê.

100. Nôid ashayau frâsenti yô nôid drighôs ashôdkaêsahê avanghaska thrâthrahska (read thrâthranghaska) pesauntê (read peresauntê).

XLV.

101. Paôurus darena (read karena) apadâta frakîkîs hôi urunê afravaôkîs hava hizva,

102. Yô nôid mãthrâd spentau.

XLVI–XLIX.

XLVI.—103. Nôid hâu sûrô Zarathustra nôid asha sûrô.

XLVII.—104. Nôid hâu tahmô yô nôid ashtahmô.

XLVIII.—105. Nôid hâu âs vaozê Zarathustra nôid ahmâd vashâta,

106. Yô nôid ashahê vahistahê beregi framaretahê mayau vaozê.

XLIX.—107. Yô nôid narem ashavanem hvâhva athâhva jasentem khsnaôsta vâ khsnâvayêitê vâ.

108. Taêka Spitama Zarathustra angheus vahistahê kithrê paityauntê,

109. Yôi anghê nerebyô ashavabyô ayaptô-dâtemaska asperezô-dâtemaska.

L.

110. Hô dadhô ashem upa raodhayêitê yô drvaitê dadhâitê.

111. Gâthwôis taskid vana:

---

[1] There are many truths which can be conceived or expressed only through Revelation.

[2] 'He has promoted nothing good' (Comm.)

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tama Zarathustra! there is not one just man, not two, nor three, nor several.

100. They seek not after righteousness, they seek not to succour and maintain the poor follower of the Holy Law.

XLV.

101. There be many works of wisdom which the soul may not conceive nor the tongue declare,

102. Without the Holy Word[1].

XLVI–XLIX.

XLVI.—103. He is not mighty, O Zarathustra! who is not mighty in righteousness.

XLVII.—104. He is not strong, who is not strong in righteousness.

XLVIII.—105. He has promoted nought[2], O Zarathustra! and he shall promote nought,

106. Who does not promote the laws of perfect holiness, pondered in his heart[3];

XLIX.—107. Who hath not rejoiced, who rejoiceth not the righteous man who cometh within his gates[4].

108. For they, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall behold the Paradise,

109. Who are most bounteous to the righteous and least vex their souls.

L.

110. He who giveth to the Ungodly harmeth Asha[5].

111. Even as it is written in the Gâtha:

[3] 'Who does not undertake to promote religion and good deeds as he ought' (Comm.)

[4] Lit. 'on his property.'

[5] He does harm to virtue, or to the Genius of virtue.

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112. Hvô zî drv*a*u y*e* drvaitê vahi*s*tô (Yasna XLVI, 6 c).

LI.

113. Ashem vohû vahi*s*tem astî.

LII.

114. Ashâ*d* *k*i*d* ha*k*â vangh*e*u*s* dazdâ.

LIII.

115. Apas*k*â dâ*d* urvar*a*us*k*â vanghî*s* (Yasna XXXVII, 1).

LIV.

116. Ya*d* *k*i*d* dim dava dâtôi*s* uzrâti*s*,

117. Nôi*d* aêtahê uzarenô naê*d*a varô avavâitê.

LVI.

118. Nôi*d* hê tahmô anavahîm *g*aya*d*

119. Nôi*d* adhâiti frârâithyanãm urvi*d*yêiti

120. T*a*unghrô daregha dâta ashaonô Zarathu*s*trahê.

LVII.

121. Vîsaiti ainyô usyô nôi*d* ainyô evîsemnô âstryaêitê.

122. Ava vaêsaêtê naêta *k*i*d* âstryêitê.

LVIII.

123, 124. Daresa nâ pairyaokhta*k*a uzu*s*tan*a*u âdareyêitê nyêtê u*s*tanavaitî*s* (124) vîsp*a*u fra*s*umaitî*s*.

---

[1] Yasna XLVI, 6 c (Gâtha u*s*tavaiti).

[2] First line of the Ashem vohû.

[3] From the Ahuna vairya (see the whole of the prayer, Vd. VIII, 19).

[4] Yasna XXXVII, 1.

[5] The var, the ordeal, of which there were thirty-three. The most usual was the one which Âdarbâd Mahraspand underwent

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112. 'He is unrighteous who is good to the unrighteous[1].'

LI.

113. Holiness is the best of all good[2].

LII.

114. [The wish of the Lord is the rule] of Holiness.

The gifts of Vohu Manô . . .[3].

LIII.

115. He has made the good waters and the good plants[4].

LIV.

116. And though he may bribe the judge with presents,

117. He cannot bribe the ordeal[5] and escape it.

LVI.

118–120. . . . . ?

LVII[6].

121. If the one accept and not the other, he who refuseth is in fault.

122. If both accept, there is no fault.

LVIII.

123, 124. With glance and with speech, a man superintendeth his worldly wealth, inanimate and animate, goods and chattels[7].

successfully, when he confounded the heretics and manifested the orthodox doctrine by having molten metal poured upon his breast.

[5] This fragment seems to refer to the proposal made by one of the litigants to have recourse to an ordeal (cf. Fragments in the Farhang, 15).

[7] He superintends his inanimate property with his look, and his animate property with speech.

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VI.

THE ERPATISTÂN AND NÎRANGISTÂN.

Of all the lost Nasks, the one of which the largest fragments have been preserved is the seventeenth one called the Hûspâram. It was composed of sixty-four Fargards, of which two of the first thirty were called Erpatistân, 'the Sacerdotal Code,' and Nîrangistân, 'the Ritual Code;' the former dealing chiefly with clerical organisation, and the latter with a portion of the ritual. Their general contents are known from the analysis of the Nasks given in the Dînkart (VIII, ch. 28, 29; West, Pahlavi Texts, IV, 92–97).

These two Zend treatises were treated like the Vendîdâd, that is to say, were translated and commented on in Pahlavi, at least partially. They have not come to us in any Sâda manuscript, but are to be recovered from their Pahlavi expansion, the so-called Pahlavi Nîrangistân [1], which presents nearly the same aspect as the Pahlavi Vendîdâd, that is to say, it contains the Zend original text with a Pahlavi translation, and a lengthy commentary, in which latter many connected questions are treated and a considerable number of Zend quotations from other Nasks are adduced. The first thing to do is to distinguish what belongs to the principal text, which is the object of the commentary, and what are the Zend quotations adduced from elsewhere by the commentator. The distinction of the two components is easily seen, as the principal text is always accompanied by a translation, whereas the quotations are not. They are either formulas recited during the performance of the ceremonies, or texts adduced as demonstrative or explanatory of such or such statement [2]. These quotations once removed, there remains a continuous text which answers closely to the analysis in the Dînkart. But a comparison with that analysis, as well as internal evidence, shows that only a part of the original text is preserved, and that

[1] It has been long known under that title, but ought to be called 'Erpatistân and Nîrangistân.'

[2] They are adduced with the uniform words . . . min . . . padtâk yahvûnêt, 'it appears from the passage: . . .'

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the Pahlavi manuscript, as it has come to us, is the juxtaposition of portions of two independent books, the Erpatistân and the Nîrangistân proper, the beginning and end of both being lost. In other terms, it contains a part in the middle of the Erpatistân[1] and the greater part of the Nîrangistân, the end of the latter being lost as well as a short passage at its beginning[2]. All the manuscripts of the Nîrangistân, known to be in existence, present the same juxtaposition, as they are descended from one and the same manuscript, of which the copyist, having in his hands a fragment of the Erpatistân and a more complete Nîrangistân, copied the two as one and the same book, which took the name of the larger fragment. This leaves room to hope for the further discovery of older independent manuscripts of either book.

Here is a summary of the matter treated of, with references to the analysis in the Dînkart:—

Fargard I.

First Part (Fragment of the Erpatistân).

I. §§ 1–9. The priest on duty out (Dînkart VIII, ch. 28, § 2 ?).
II. §§ 10–18. The student priest (Dk. ibid. § 3 ?).

Second Part (Nîrangistân proper).

I. §§ 19–27. The Zôt and the Râspî (Dk. VIII, ch. 29, § 1).
II. § 28. The Darûn (Dk. ibid. § 2).
III. §§ 29, 30. Strong drink forbidden during the sacrifice (Dk. § 3).
IV. §§ 31–37. The recitation of the Gâthas (Dk. § 4).
V. §§ 38–40. The sacrifice performed by a Zôt, or a Râspî, in a state of sin (Dk. §§ 5, 6).

Fargard II.

I. §§ 41–45. The celebration of the Gâhânbârs (Dk. §§ 7, 8).
II. §§ 46–51. The limits of the several Gâhs (§ 46, Gâh

[1] §§ 1–18 belong to the Erpatistân.

[2] Of the twenty-five paragraphs in the Dînkart analysis, part of § 1, the whole of §§ 2–16, and part of § 17 are represented in the extant Nîrangistân. But one must bear in mind that the analysis in the Dînkart was not based on the Zend Nasks, but on their Pahlavi commentaries, so that it refers occasionally to matter not treated of in the Sâda text.

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Ushahin.—§§ 47, 48, Gâh Hâvan.—§ 49, Gâh Rapithwin.—§ 50, Gâh Uzîrin.—§ 51, Gâh Aiwisrûthrem.—Dk. § 9).

III. §§ 52–64. The offerings for the Gâhânbârs (Dk. § 10).

IV. §§ 65–71. The libations (Dk. § 11).

V. §§ 72–84. The functions and place of the Zôt and Râspîs at the sacrifice (Dk. §§ 13, 14).

Fargard III.

I. §§ 85–87, 91–96. The Kôstî and Sadara (Dk. § 15).

II. §§ 88–90, 97–104. The preparation of the Baresman (Dk. § 16).

III. §§ 105–109. The firewood and the implements for the sacrifice (Dk. § 17).

The interpretation of these texts is beset with no ordinary difficulties, the first being the technical character of the matter treated of, which no amount of philological ingenuity, left to its own devices, can elucidate, then the corrupt state of the text. No standard translation of the Zend can be expected till the whole of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân has been deciphered and translated. However, with the help of the Dînkart analysis and of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân, as far as I could make it out, I believe I have succeeded in presenting a rough partial translation, which may give a correct general idea of the whole, and may help to some extent to clear the ground and be useful even in a further exploration of the Pahlavi Nîrangistân.

All known copies of the Nîrangistân—which are indeed few in number—are descended from two manuscripts. One, belonging to Dr. Hoshangji of Poona (MS. H), was copied in India, in the year 1727, from a manuscript which was brought from Iran in 1720 by Dastur Jâmâsp Vilâyati and seems to have been written in 1471. The other, belonging to Tahmuras D. Anklesaria (MS. T), was written in Iran. Its date is unknown, though it is certainly older than Dr. Hoshangji's manuscript. Both manuscripts belong to the same family, as they both present the same juxtaposition of the Erpatistân and Nîrangistân. Tahmuras' copy has lost several pages at the end; from § 91 onwards, we are dependent only on Hoshangji's copy. But Tahmuras' manuscript, besides being more complete in the rest of the text, is by far more correct; and how far this is the case the reader may judge for himself by a glance at the translation: from § 91 onwards we have been obliged to leave most of the text untranslated as hopelessly corrupt.

In February, 1887, having been asked by the Parsi community

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at Bombay to deliver a lecture on the Parsi literature, I took advantage of the approaching Jubilee of the Queen to recommend the creation of a Victoria Jubilee Fund for the publication of the unedited Pahlavi literature. The appeal was readily answered, a fund raised, and it was decided that the publication should begin with the Nîrangistân. Unfortunately, in the realisation of the plan, the scientific experience of the young Parsi school did not prove quite equal to its good will. Instead of printing from the better manuscript, with the various readings of the inferior one in foot-notes, the committee for publication had the less good manuscript photo-zincographed. We have not yet in hand the Jubilee edition, but may hope that at least the variants of Tahmuras' manuscript have been annexed to it. We have thought it advisable, meanwhile, to give here for the use of scholars the Zend text, of which only a few manuscript copies are extant in Europe [1].

[1] We have already published it in our French Avesta, but that edition is too scarce and too expensive to be of general use.—The text given represents essentially Tahmuras' copy, corrected here and there from Hoshangji's manuscript. The barbarous forms are many, and a considerable number of them might be easily corrected: however, whenever they did not make the meaning more obscure, we thought it better to let them stand as they were, because in the degenerate stage in which the Zend language presents itself to us, there is no uniform standard from which one may view and to which one may reduce the erring forms.

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VI. ERPATISTÂN AND NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD I, FIRST PART.

ERPATISTÂN.

I. The priest officiating out of his house.

1. Knmô (read kemô) nmânahê athaurunem pârayâ*d*?

Yô ashâi bere*g*yãstemô,

Hvôi*s*tô vâ yôi*s*tô;

Yim vâ ainim hapô-gaêtha (read hadhô-gaêtha);

Hazao*s*yâ pa*a*ungha (read p*a*ungha) *k*ayãn (read *k*aỻãm).

2. Para paoiryô âiti, para bityô âiti, para thrityô âiti.

Aêta parâyaiti yathâ gaêthâbyô he*n*ti (read he*n*ti),

Aê*s*ô gaêthanãm irisha*n*tinãm (H.—T. irisha*n*tanãm) raê*s*ê (read raê*s*ê *k*ikaya*d*) [a].

3. Katârem âthravana athaurunem vâ pâraya*d* gaêthanãm vâ asperenô ava*d*?

---

[a] Ka*d* dâtahê Zarathu*s*trôi*s*.
Maghnô mãthrô.
Thrikh*s*aparem hathrâknem.
Gaêthanãm vâ asperenô avôi*d* (see § 3).
Yôi avapa aiwyâsti (see § 15).
Â paiti beretîm ere*k*i*s*tem.
Nôi*d* frâurusti.
Mastem âthrne*n*tem âstâtha.
Paiti beti*s* (H.—T. beretim) ar*s*ti*s*tim.

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VI. ERPATISTÂN AND NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD I, FIRST PART.

ERPATISTÂN.

I. The priest officiating out of his house.

1. Who is he in the house who shall officiate as priest [1]?

—He who longeth most after holiness [2],

Be he great, or small;

Or another, his partner [3];

By his own will or directed by the brethren.

2. The first goeth forth, the second goeth forth, the third goeth forth.

[If] he goeth forth who is in charge of the estate [4],

He shall pay for the damage done to the estate.

3. Shall the priest officiate as a priest or shall he see to the good management of the estate?

---

[1] Out of the house.

[2] The most zealous.

[3] The sacerdotal community forms a religious and commercial association. The profits accruing from the divers ceremonies are divided between the members. These in Nausâri, which is the metropolis of Zoroastrianism, and whose Parsi population is all of sacerdotal origin, are called Bhagarias, 'the partners.'

[4] Somebody must stay at home to take care of the common estate; he must not go and officiate abroad.

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Gaêthanãm asperenô avôi*d* [a].

4. *K*va*d* nâ âthrava athaurunem ha*k*a gâthâbi*s* (read gaêthâbi*s*) paraya*d*?

Ya*d* hi*s* thri*s* yâ hmâ (read hamâ) aiwi*s* iti [b].

*K*va*d* aiwistem paraya*d*?

Thrikhsaparem hathrâkem khsva*s* khsafnô â*k*a para*k*a [c].

Yô baôyô aêtahmâ*d* parâiti

Nôi*d* pas*k*aita anaiwistîm âstrya*n*ti.

5. Katârô athaurunem paraya*d* nâirika vâ nmânô-paiti*s* vâ?

Yêzi*k*a vâ gaêtha*u* vîmâ katâr (read katârô) paraya*d* [d]?

Nmânô-paiti*s* gaêtha*u* nâirika paraya*d*.

Nâirikâi gaêtha*u* vi*s* nmânô-paiti*s* paraya*d* [e].

6. Yô anyahê nâirika anahakhtô athaurunem paranghâiti (read paranghaʼkâiti),

Ka*d* hê vâ ashem verezyâ*d* yâ nâirika nmânô-paiti verezya*n*ti?

Verezyâ*d* usaiti nôi*d* anusaiti.

Ahakhtô paranghaʼkaiti,

Verezyâ*d* usaiti*k*a anusaitiyti*k*a (read anusaiti*k*a).

Frôi*d* var*e* paranghaʼkâitê âka*u* (H.—T. âda*u*) hazanguha anâka*u*sê tâyu*s* [f].

---

[a] Yêza*k*a . . . aê*s*aya daênê.

Yêza*k*a vehrkô gaêthanãm (cf. Vd. XIII, 10).

Yêzi*k*a aê*s*a daênê. Yêzi*k*a aê*s*aya daênê.

Yêzi*k*a vehrkô gaêtha*u* (cf. Vd. XIII, 10).

Paoiryãm him varem âderezayôi*d* hê yâhya hê hvanem âhûk.

[b] Athaurunãm*k*a.

[c] Thrishûm âsnãm khsafnãm*k*a (Yasna LXII, 5, gloss).

[d] Nairyô ratu*s* kara.

Nôi*d* ava*k*inô dâitîm vînâ*d*.

Aêvâ*k*ina dâitîm vinânthaʼ*d*.

Hakhtô u anahakhtô. Pan[*k*a]dayasaya sareide.

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Let him see to the good management of the estate[1].

4. How often shall the priest officiate beyond the limits of the estate?

—He may go three times in the year.

How far may he go to teach (the Word)?

—So far as a three nights' journey[2]: six nights, there and back.

Farther than that

If he refuse to go and teach, he is not guilty.

5. Which of the two shall officiate as priest, the mistress or the master of the house[3]?

And if either be fit to take charge of the estate, which shall go forth?

If the master of the house take charge of the estate, the woman shall go forth.

If the woman take charge of the estate, the master of the house shall go forth.

6. If a man should take with him as priest[4] the wife of another, without (her husband's) leave,

May the woman fulfil the holy office?

—Yea, if she is willing; nay, if she is not willing.

If a man take her with him by (the husband's) leave,

[1] The managing priest renders more service to the community by preserving and increasing the common property than by performing his ritual functions. 'Supervising the property is better than officiating as a priest.' (Comm.)

[2] The Avesta counts by nights instead of days: 'three nights' means 'three times twenty-four hours.' Three nights' distance is valued at thirty farsakhs or parasangs (ninety miles or thirty leagues).

[3] Women, in case of need, were allowed, like men, to perform certain ritual ceremonies (cf. § 40) and to act as Râspî (assistant-priest), and even as Zôt (officiating priest) (Anquetil, Zend-Avesta II, 553).

[4] As assistant-priest.

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7. Yô anyêhê aperenâyûkahê anakhtô (read anâhakhtô) athaurunem paranghaṡâi (read paranghaṡâiti),

Pasca hâra (read yâra ?) tanûm parayêiti.

Yaḍ aêsa yôi aperenâyûkô sraosi vâ anutaṡaitê,

Aokhtô vâ hê aokhtê thwâḍ pairi anguha (read pairi-angha),

Paṡa hathra â fra-sruiti (read afrasruiti) sê paiti tanûm parayêitê[a].

8. Ahmi nmânê anghê visê ahmi zaṇtvô anghê danghvô ḳvaḍ bis ayau vîtayau (read vîḳayau) anghen ?

Yugayastis haṡa nmâḍ atha danghôiḍ visaḍ hâthrem zaṇtaoḍ â danghaoḍ,

Yatha dâityâ spasanya,

Yatha para vayêô nmânemṡa visemṡa zaṇteuṡa danghṇeuṡa.

9. Âaḍ yaḍ hê aokhtê aêsa yênhê aperenâyûkô :

Haṡanguha mê hana (read ana ?) aperenâyûka,

Yatha vashi atha hakhshaêtê,

Vana paṡaiti uzdanguhuṡiḍ patha hakhtôiḍ,

Ḳvaḍ anâbdôistem ayanem paranghaṡaitê?

Yâ frayarena vâ uzayêirinê vâ avãn aiwyâstis anghaḍ.

[a] Yênhê aokhtô aêsâ yênhê aperenâyûkâi.

[1] To have illicit intercourse with her, by force or otherwise.

[2] By force.

[3] Without leave from the parent on whom the child depends.

[4] As assistant-priest; cf. § 40.

[5] If the child goes willingly, not by force.

[6] Or perhaps: 'if [the child] say.'

[7] A mile.

[8] 'Without singing' the Gâthas, that is to say, without performing the ceremony for which he has taken the child with him. Taking the child farther would amount to kidnapping.

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Willing or unwilling, she shall fulfil the holy office.

If the man take her with him to enjoy her body [1], if he do this openly [2], he is a highwayman; if in secret, he is a thief.

7. He who, without leave [3], taketh away the child of another to officiate as priest [4], he shall become Peshôtanu for a whole year (?).

If the child obey and go gladly [5],

Or if [the man] say [6]: 'I go with thee,'

And he goeth a hâthra [7] without singing [8], he shall be Peshôtanu.

8. In this house, in this borough, in this district, in this country, how far afield may they go [9]?

—The length of a yugyêsti from the house or the borough [10]; the length of a hâthra from the district or the country [11], within a sphere of protection,

So that they remain in sight of the house, of the borough, of the district, of the country.

9. But if he who owneth the child shall say:

'Go with him, my child,

The child shall follow at thy will,

He may follow along the roads out of the country,'

—How far away, at most, may one lead him?

So far as one can go in a morning or an afternoon.

[9] How far can a man take with him a child without proper authorisation?

[10] The length of sixteen hâthras (sixteen thousand steps; see above, p. 160) from the house or the borough, within the limits of the same district.

[11] At the distance of one hâthra only, if on the border of the district; otherwise they would enter a strange place where the child is not known, and the danger of his being lost or kidnapped would be greater.

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Yô aêtahmâd paranghaḱâiti,

Nabânazdistem hê para pasḱaiti raêsaḱa adhwadâityasḱa âstrâiṅti.

II. The student priest.

10 a. Âad hvatãm aba aêthrapaitîm

Yêṅhê nisritem frâra

Âhi anastritim

Yêzi âad hê nôid aighsritîm frâra

Nôid ainisritîm âstryêṅti.

Yathra apereyûkô (read aperenâyûkô)

Nôid hê anisris

Atha aiwyanghem [yathra ratus thwayanghem] yathra aperenâyûkô.

Âhê aithisritîm staryêiti.

Adha yad vâ yathra thwayanghem vâ thwayanghem vâ.

10 b. Daêvayasnahê vâ tanu-perethahê vâ aperenâyûka paranghaḱaitê

Nisritad aêtahê âstryêiti nôid asriti [a].

11. Kvad nâ aithra-paititim (read aêthrapaitîm) upaôisâd yâre drâgô ?

Thrizaremaêm khratûm ashavanem aiwyaunghad [b].

Yêzi aṅtarâd naêmâd aêtahê drengayêiti (H.—dereǧayêiti T.) para paityâiti vîraodhayêiti (H.—vîraozayêiti T.),

Hâthrô nuuḱ (read hathra nû ?) ainem aêthrapaitim upôisôid âthra (atha H.) thritîm upôisôid aêvatha tûirîm upôisôid;

Yêzi avad vaêthad vaênatha aṅtarâd naêmâd hâthrahê drengayâadḱa naêmḱa pasḱaiti vîrôidhi [c].

---

[a] Amat hâd amat nisritad.

Yatha dahmahê frangharezôid.

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If the man lead him farther,

He is guilty in sight of the nearest kinsman[1] of the sin of adhwadâitya [2].

II. The student priest.

10 a. . . . . .

10 b. . . . . .

11. How many years shall the student consult the aêthrapaiti [3]?

— Three springtides[4] shall he gird on Holy Wisdom [5].

If, while he learns by heart, he forget and miss a part,

He shall try again a second time, a third time, a fourth time;

And when he knows his text, he shall be able to say it all and miss nothing.

Yavatahê nâfô anvathwaristô.

[b] Spayêiti.

Vîspaêibyô aperenâyûbyô nôid *k*ahmâi aperenâyunãm... barô.

Yênhê aêtadha mazdayasnanãm nâirika avay*a*u khs*u*dr*a*u hãm raêthwayêiti mazdayasnanãm*k*a daêvayasnanãm*k*a.

[c] Thrikhs*a*farem dãzhdhrem.

---

[1] The nearest kinsman of the child.

[2] The adhwadâitya or atapdât, literally 'improper journey,' is properly the sin of giving insufficient food to an animal or to a traveller. In this passage it means enforcing upon a child a journey beyond his strength.

[3] The aêthrapaiti, the teaching priest; cf. Vd. IV, 45.

[4] For three years; cf. Vd. XVIII, 9.

[5] As a Kôstî; cf. Vd. XVIII, 1, note 2. He shall study for three years.

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12. Kem aêma*d* aêthrapaitim upaya*d* apnôtem (H.—apôtem T.) dahmem (H.—dâtem T.)?

Yêsê tâ*d* apayêiti pâra*n*tarem isôi*d*.

Yava*d* aêtahmya zru staotanãm yêsnyanãm dâdrâ*g*ôi*s*,

Yatha ta*d* âfrimari nemô hyâ*d* atha ta*d* âfrimnô âstârayêiti;

Aêtava*dk*a aê*s*as*k*i*d* âstârayêitê.

13. Yô hê aperemnâi (read âperemnâi) nôi*d* vîsâiti frâmrûiti,

Kô hê paôurunãm aêthrapaitinãm afraôkhtê (H.—âf. T.) âstryêiti? nabânazdistô.

Âa*d* havatãm nana yahmi pareiti;

[Vîspaê*s*u pare*n*ti] vîspaê*s*u afrôti (read afraokhti) âstryêiti.

14. Yô asru*d*-gaosô vâ afravaô*k*ô vâ nôi*d* ôim *k*inem vâ*k*im aiwyâi*s*,

Nôi*d* pas*k*aiti anaivisti âstryêiti.

Yêziâa*d* ôyum pê vâ*k*im aiwyâi*s* anaiwisti âstryêiti[a].

15. Yô avadha nôi*d* aiwyâsti ashaonê aradusa havayanghem akhtem,

Daretô vâ anangrô tâya vâ,

Ynâ (read *s*nâ?) vâ aodra vâ tar*s*nâ vâ aurva*s* angra vâ aodra vâ tar*s*na,

[a] Ithâ â*d* yaza. ashêm vôhû.

[1] Who is the best teacher?

[2] Until you know by heart the Staota Yêsnya, the Nask that formed the essential part of the Yasna, containing the Gâthas, the Yasna Haptanghâiti, and a few other Hâs (see our French Zend-Avesta, I, lxxxvii).

[3] The meaning seems to be that he must teach at least the nemô hyâ*d* (the Nyâyish?).

[4] That is the minimum the master is bound in duty to teach him.

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12. Who is the aêthrapaiti to whom he shall go as the highest[1]?

—Even he who . . .

Until thou hast by heart the Staota Yêsnya[2],

. . . . . .[3]

In this measure is the master guilty[4].

13. If one answer not the student's objections[5],

Which of the many aêthrapaitis is guilty?—He who is nearest of kin[6].

. . . . . .

For all objections, for all the answers denied he is guilty.

14. If he whose ear heareth not, or who has no voice, repeat not a word[7],

He is not guilty for not repeating.

If he can repeat, were it only one word, for not repeating it he is guilty.

15. If he repeat not because he suffers from a wound,

Or for any physical pain, or . . . .

Or by reason of drought, or cold, or thirst, or . . .

Or by reason of the hard fare of travel,

If he repeat not, he is not guilty[8].

---

[5] The case is when a pupil finding the text obscure or contradictory asks for an explanation.

[6] If this is the right translation, it would import that not every aêthrapaiti is bound to answer his pupil's objections; he has only to teach him the text, not to interpret it; but from a next-of-kin aêthrapaiti a pupil has a right to exact an answer to his doubts. One must bear in mind that the priesthood is hereditary, and that most priests of a place belong to one, or at least to a very few families. All the Mobeds in India are supposed to be descendants of one common ancestor (see the Guimet Zend-Avesta, I, lvii).

[7] The pupils repeat the text, word by word, after the teacher.

[8] Because he suffers from an overwhelming cause.

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Anguha vâ*k*a tangro-pithw*a*u (read *a*ungha-vâ *k*a tarô-pithwô) ahmâ*d* paiti adhwâ,

Nôi*d* aêâvi*s*ti (aênavi*s*ti H.—read anaivi*s*ti) âs tryêiti.

Vâthmaini a*s*ayâ *hv*afna vâ anaivi*s*ti âstryêitê.

16. Ka*d* vâ daêvayasnâ*d* vâ tanu-perethâ*d* aêthrapatôi*d* pairi aiwyangha*d*?

Frasrâvayô ava dâthra yem dim vaênâ*d* evisaêu*s*va va*n*dânem.

Nôi*d* âva yâ vistaê*s*va.

Nôi*d* hê ashaônê *s*yaothananãm verezyôi*d*.

17. Nâ daêvayasnâi vâ tanuperethâi vâ aêthrayâi *k*ashâiti?

Dahmô niuruzdô adhâityô-draonô,

Dâityêhê draonanghô upa *g*ana*a*ungha,

Pairi-gereftayâ*d* paiti zman[a]y*a*u, nôi*d* api-gereftayâ*d* paiti.

*K*vaiti *s*ê aê*s*a zimana angha*d*? yatha gâu*s* fravaiti.

Vehrkâi hizvãm dadhâiti yô azrazdâi mêthrem (read mãthrem) *k*astê.

18. Ka*d* nâ daêvayasnâi vâ tanuperethâi vâ g*e*u*s* adhâitya âstryêiti? nôi*d* âstryêiti,

Anyô ahmâ*d* yô hê gavâ vare*s* daidhi*d* aêtahmâi.

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD I, SECOND PART.

I. The Zôt and the Râspi.

19. Dahmô dahmâi aokhtê:

Frâma neregâ rayôi*s* (read frâ mê nere gârayôi*s*) ya*d* ratu*s* fritôi*s* âsâ*d*.

---

[1] Because he might and ought to have controlled his weariness.

[2] A Daêvayasna, a worshipper of the Daêvas, that is to say, a worshipper of false gods (a Brâhman, a Buddhist, a Greek, &c.)

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If he repeat not by reason of weariness, sadness, or slumber, he is guilty [1].

16. . . . . .

17. Shall he teach a disciple, if he be a heathen [2] or a sinner [3]?

— The righteous man in his misery, if he have not wherewithal to be fed,

And wants wherewithal to be fed,

(May teach) for a salary, but not without a salary [4].

— What shall be the salary?—The price of what an ox ploughs [5].

But he gives a tongue to the wolf, who imparteth the Holy Word to the heretic [6].

18. He that refuseth food to the heathen and the sinner, is he guilty?—He is not guilty,

Unless he refuse it to the labourer in his service [7].

Fargard I, Second Part.

Here begins the Nîrangistân proper.

I. The Zôt and the Râspî.

19. The pious man warns the pious man [8];

'Rouse me, O man! when the festival of the masters arrives [9].'

---

[3] A Peshôtanu, a Zoroastrian in a state of mortal sin.

[4] He may teach a Daêvayasna or a Peshôtanu, but only to gain his bread, when reduced to starvation; in no case, and on no account whatever, may he teach a heretic.

[5] 'The price of a day's work' (Comm.); just enough to live on the day he teaches.

[6] An Ashemaogha: cf. Tahmuras' Fragments, § 3.

[7] His meed is due to the labourer, even if a heathen or a sinner.

[8] Cf. Vd. XVIII, 26.

[9] Ratufriti, literally, 'the blessing of the Ratus' or the various masters of the year, is applied to the celebration of the Gâhânbârs.

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Vîsaiti dem fraghrârayô nôi*d* fraghrâghrâyêiti,
Aêsô ratufri*s* yô *g*aghâra.

20. *K*vaiti narãm akhtô (read hakhtô) zaota ratufri*s*
Ahunem vairîm frasraô*s*yêhê ?
Vîspaêibyô aêibyô yôi hê madhemyâ va*k*a [va*k*a] frasrâvayamnahê vâ upa surunva*n*ti ya*d* vâ yasnem yazemnahê [a].

21. Surunaôiti zaodha (read zaota) upa sraotaranãm,
Nôi*d* upa sraotarô zaotarô,
Zaota ratufre*s*;
Aêtavô upa sraotârô yava*d* frama*r*e*n*tem.
Nôi*d* zaota upa sraotaranãm,
Upa sraotârô ratufryô ;
Aêtavatô zaota yava*d* framaraitê [b].

22. Sraothrana gâthanãm ratufre*s*,
Paiti-asti*k*a yasnas-hê adha fra*s*ôsô-mãthrahê ;
Ahê zî nâ sravanghem aframare*n*ti âstryêitê,
Yatha gâthanãm*k*i*d* [c].
Gâth*a*u srâvayô yasnem yaze*n*tem paiti*s*taiti,

[a] Frâmâ nere (cf. § 19, line 2).
Haourvô pas*k*i*k*.
Frastuyê.
Ashem vôhû 3 fravarânê mazdayasnô.
Vîspâi.
Ashaya nô paiti *g*amyâ*d* Amesha Spe*n*ta.
Ashem vôhû 3 aiwi-garedhmahê apãm vanghînãm.
Ashem vôhû 3 fravarânê mazdayasnô Zarathustre*s*.

[b] Ashaya dadhãmi.

[c] Manô maretanãm*k*â.
Va*k*ô maretanãm*k*a.

[1] Ratufrish, literally, 'he has blessed the masters,' he has done his duty; he is all right.

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If one rouse, and the other rise not,
The one who roused is accepted [1].

20. How many assistants [2] can the Zaotar lawfully have in the recitation of the Ahuna Vairya?

As many as repeat after him in a hushed voice while he sings aloud or recites the Yasna.

21. If the Zaotar listen to the assistants,
And his assistants listen not to the Zaotar,
The Zaotar is accepted;
And so are his assistants for all that they recite themselves [3].

If the Zaotar listen not to his assistants,
The assistants are accepted;
And so is the Zaotar for all that he recites himself [4].

22. The assistant [5] is accepted who sings the Gâthas,
And follows inwardly the Yasna [6] and the Fshûshô-mãthra [7];
For the man is guilty who does not follow the (prose) texts [8],
Even as the Gâthas.
If he sing the Gâthas and follow inwardly the Yasna,

[2] 'How many Râspîs?' (Comm.) — One of the offices of the Râspî is to make the responses to the Zôt, and to answer atha ratus in the Ahuna Vairya recited as a dialogue.

[3] Not for what has been recited by the Zaotar.

[4] Not for what has been recited by the Râspîs.

[5] The Râspî assisting the Zôt in the recitation of the Gâthas. For instance, at the end of each Gathic Hâ, he repeats with the Zôt the initial stanza.

[6] The Yasna Haptanghâiti.

[7] The Tad sôidhis Hâ (Yasna LVIII).

[8] Sravanghem; the prose texts, what is not Gâtha. He must repeat aloud the Gâtha texts and follow the rest inwardly.

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VIspanãm gâthanãm ratufres.

Yasnem yazâiti gâthanãm srâvamnãm paitisti (read paitistaiti),

Yasnahê aêvahê ratufris aratufris gâthanãm [a].

23. Yâ gâthau afsmainya rayatô va ratufris.

Vakastastivad srâyamnô (read srâvayamnô) aêtavatô ktarâkid ratufris yavad framarenti [b].

24. Yâ yasnem yazebenti afsmainyãn vâ vakastastivad vâ va fratufrya (read ratufrya).

Hãm-srud vâkayâdhi yêzietva (read vâka yêzi yêzyâd va) aratufrya.

Kad hãm-srud vâkimka ?

Yad hakad âmutô (read âmrûtô) afsmainiivãnka vakasta (read vakasastivat).

Avakyô surunvainti nôid ainyô,

Aêsô ratufris yô nôid aiwisrunâiti [c].

25. Yô gâthanãm anumaiti vâ anu mainaiti,

Ainyêhê vâ srâvayantô paitistanti,

Anyô vâ hê dahmô srutô-gâthau dadhâiti aratufris,

Asrutau dadhâiti.

26. Yô gâthau srâvayêiti apô vâ paitis hvainê,

Raodhanghô vâ keresãm vâ sadhôtanãm (read gadhôtûnãm),

Gâthanãm vâ vayantanãm,

Yêzi hvaêibyô usibyô aiwisrunvaiti ratufris.

Yêzi âad nôid hvaêibya usibya aiwisurunvaiti rapayâd (read apayâd);

[a] Yâ syaothenâ yâ vakanghâ.
Humatanãm.

[b] Ahyâ yâsâ nemanghâ ustânazastô.
Ahyâ nemanghâ.

[c] Hakad.

[1] The Zôt and the Râspî.

[2] Detached verses (?).

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He is accepted for all the Gâthas.

If he recite the Yasna and follow inwardly the Gâthas, he is accepted only for the Yasna, he is not accepted for the Gâthas.

23. If the two priests [1] sing together Gâtha verses [2], both are accepted.

If they sing stanzas, both are accepted in the proportion that they recite (?).

24. If two priests [3] celebrate together the Yasna verse by verse, or stanza by stanza, both are accepted.

If they hear the words of one another, they are not accepted [4].

What is hearing one another's words?

It is when they recite together verses or stanzas.

If one listen and the other listen not,

The one who does not listen is accepted.

25. If he think the Gâthas inwardly [5],

Or listen to another's singing,

Or get another of the faithful to sing them,—he is not accepted, as he does not sing them himself.

26. If he sing the Gâthas near a water-spring [6],

Or near a river, or among a gang of rioters,

Or during the passing of a caravan,

If he can hear himself with his own ears, he is accepted.

If he cannot hear his own voice, let him try to raise (it above the noise);

---

[1] Two different Zaotars perform at the same time two independent offices. The place for the office, the so-called Izishn-gâh, is arranged in such a way that the celebration of several offices can take place at the same time.

[4] As they disturb one another, and their attention is not undivided.

[5] Without singing them himself. [6] Which drowns his voice.

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Yêzi apôi*d* âa*d* nôi*d* apôi (read apôi*d*) ṭs,

Aêtadha mamdhya (read madhmya) va*k*ô frama-remnô ratufri*s* [a].

27. *K*va*d* nâ netema va*k*a gâtha*u* srâvayô ratufri*s*?

Yêzi hê nazdi*s*tô dahmô vî surunvaiti yava*d* vâ aêm aêm havaêibya u*s*ibya.

II. The Darûn.

28. Ga*n*tumô yavanãm ratufre*s* [b].

III. Strong drink forbidden during the sacrifice.

29. Yôi aête*e* (read aêtê) maidhyanãm parô *hv*aretôi*d* pâtha*u* (read gâtha*u*) nôi*d* srâvayêiti,

Paoithya (read paoirya) vari*s*ta aê*s*ãm *s*yaothanem*k*a a*k*ithôiri*s*tem.

30. Ta*d* *hv*arenô bâdha asti:

Dahmô hurãm *hv*araiti madhô aspyâ payanghô,

Dâityâ draona*u* *hv*arô madhô *hv*araiti,

---

[a] Aêtadha madhmya va*k*a.

[b] Ashaya dadhãmi *hv*arethem myazdem: haurvata ameretâta.

Ahurahê mazda*u*.

Ashaya nô paiti *g*amyâ*d*.

*Hv*arata narô.

Ashaya nô paiti *g*amyâ*d*.

Aêtãm âyâtãmnahê.

Nemô Ahurâi ashem vohû 3.

Khs*n*aothra khs*n*aothra Amesha Spe*n*ta.

Ithâ â*d* yazamaidê *hv*arethem myazdem.

Haurvata ameretâta gâu*s* hudha*u* âpê.

Urvara haurvata ameretâta.

Aêsmi baoidhi *hv*arethem myazdem.

Ama humatâ*k*â hûkhtâ*k*â ithâ.

Nôi*d* hi*s* barôi*d* upa kashem.

9 Ashem vohû ithâ ashem vôhû ashem ithâ.

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If he can raise (it so, all well); if he cannot,

He shall recite with a medium voice and will be accepted.

27. How loud at the least shall he sing the Gâthas in order to be accepted?

Loud enough for the nearest of the faithful, for this one or that one, to hear him with his own ears.

II. The Darûn.

28. Amongst grains, (the draonô [1]) made with corn is accepted [2].

III. Strong drink forbidden during the sacrifice [3].

29. Those who, from drinking too much strong drink, have not sung the Gâthas [4],

On the first time it happens [5], have not to atone for it.

30. This is thy way of feeding:

When a pious man drinks strong drink, wine or mare's milk, and eating with moderation drinks with

---

[1] The draonô, darûn, is a consecrated round little cake which is tasted by the Zôt at the end of the Srôsh darûn (Yasna VIII, 4): it is a sort of Zoroastrian host.

[2] This sentence does not really belong to the Zend Nîrangistân; it is a quotation from some other Fargard, inserted in the Pahlavi commentary, though the analysis in the Dînkart, being based upon the Pahlavi text, mentions it among the matters treated in the Nîrangistân (Dînkart VIII, 29, 2: 'concerning the darûn, &c.').

[3] 'About abstaining from drinking strong wine during the sacrifice' (Dînkart VIII, 29, 3).

[4] 'They drink wine, get drunk, and do not celebrate the Gâhânbâr.' (Comm.)

[5] The first time they did not know the consequences of their intemperance, and are not considered responsible for them.

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Nôi*d* gâthanãm asruiti âstryêti.
Fradh*a*u-draonô *hv*ârô madhaitê,
Nâ gâthanãm asruiti.

IV. The recitation of the Gâthas.

31. Yô bi*s* hastarem srâvayêiti ratufryô.
Thri*s* hastrem srâvayenti (read srâvaye*n*ti aratufri*s*).
*K*va*d* nitemem hastrem angha*d* ratufrye*e*? thri*s*[a].
32. Yô gâth*a*u pairi ukhshayêiti srâvaya*n*ti
Yêzi arastrem pairi [akhta (read aokhta) pairi] âdha
Vâ va*k*a*d* apaya*n*ta aratufrya
Pas*k*a vâ parô vâ pairi âdha [a]ratufryô.
33. Katha zaotha gâth*a*u frasrâvayâiti? naêmô va*k*astasti madhimya va*k*a Zarathus*t*ri mana;
Yêzi*k*a aête*e* va*k*ô apayaêiti yôi he*n*ti gâthâhva bi*s*âmrûta thri*s*âmrûta*k*a *k*athrus*a*mrûta*k*a,
Daêvanãm kereta,
Aêtaê*s*ãm va*k*ãm aratufryô.
34. Kaya pa*n*ti (read ha*n*ti) va*k*a bi*s*âmrûta?
Ahyâ yâsâ—humatanãm—ashahyâ âa*d*—yathâ tû î—humâim thwâ *z*em—thwôi staotaras*k*â—ustâ

---

[a] Sa*d* vâstrahê Zarathus*t*rôi*s* nemô:—'Homage to Isa*d*-vâstra, son of Zarathus*t*ra.'
Vîsp*a*u gaêth*a*u.
Ahurahê Mazd*a*u raêvatô *hv*arenanghatô ashâunãm.
Ahurahê Mazd*a*u gâth*a*ubyô ashâunãm. gâthâbyô.
Ahurahê Mazd*a*u ashâunãm y*a*u vîsâdha âvaya*n*ti.
Ahurahê Mazd*a*u Mithrahê vîspaê*s*ãm ashaonãm.
Ahurahê Mazd*a*u Mithrahê vîspaê*s*ãm gâthâbyô ashaonãm.

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moderation too, if he sing not the Gâthas[1], he is not guilty.

If he eat too much and get drunk, for not singing the Gâthas [he is guilty].

IV. The recitation of the Gâthas[2].

31. If the priest sing for two assemblies, he is accepted.

If he sing for three assemblies, he is not accepted.

Which is the smallest assembly for which singing is accepted? Three (of the faithful).

32. . . . . .

33. How will the Zaotar sing the Gâthas? He will sing half a stanza[3] in a moderate voice with Zarathustra's rhythm;

And if he omit[4] those words in the Gâthas which are twice, thrice, or four times to be said[5],

Those words that cut the demons to pieces,

For those words he is not accepted.

34. Which are the words twice to be said?

Ahyâ yâsâ;	Yathâ tû î;
Humatanãm;	Humâim thwâ ɨzem;
Ashahyâ âad;	Thwôi staotarasčâ;

[1] 'If in spite of his moderation, the little he drank makes him tipsy so that he does not celebrate the Gâhânbâr, he is not in a state of sin' (Comm.)

[2] 'Concerning the quality (sâmân) of the voice in reciting the Avesta in a ceremonial, and the Avesta which is twice recited and thrice or four times recited' (West, Dînkart, l. l. § 4).

[3] The first half of the stanza.

[4] If he omit to recite them the due number of times.

[5] The so-called Bis-âmrûtas, Thris-âmrûtas, Kathrus-âmrûtas; cf. Vd. X.

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ahmâi—Spe*n*tâ mainyû—Vohû khs*a*threm vairîm—Vahistâ îstis.

35. Kaya thris*a*mrûta?

Ashem vohû—y*e* sevistô—hukhs*a*thrôtemâi—duz-varenâis.

36. Kaya *k*athrus*a*mrûta?

Yathâ ahû vairyô—Mazdâ a*d* môi vahistâ—â airy*e*mâ.

37. Kanghãm [H.—T. sanghãm] nâ gâthanãm srutanãm aratufris?

Yâ yaêzô (read maêzô) vâ fravashâimnô (read fra vâ shâimnô) srâyêiti (read srâvayêiti),

Aêtaês*a*m va*k*ãm aratufris.

Adhaê*k*a uiti yatha katha*k*a dahmô staota y[ê]snya haurva dadhaiti,

Paurvâ*d* vâ naêmâ*d* aparâ*d* vâ,

Myô (read ayô) vâ ta*k*a vâ histanemnô (read histemnô) vâ *a*unghânô vâ dathânô vâ baremnô vâ vazemnô vâ aiwyâstô athâ ratufris[a].

V. The sacrifice performed by a Zôt or a Râspî in a state of sin.

38. Dahmô zaota tanuperetha upasraotârô,

Yêzi dis tanuperethô vaêdha,

Aêvatô ratufris yava*d* framaraiti.

Yêzi âa*d* dis nôi*d* tanuperethô vaêdha,

Vîspanãm gâthanãm ratufris.

---

[a] Barô aspô vazô rathô (Fragment Vd. VI, 26).

Fravarânê—âthrô Ahurahê Mazd*a*u puthra tava âtars puthra Ahurahê Mazd*a*u khs*n*aothra—ashem vohû 3, fra-varânê—yathâ ahû vairyô yô zaotâ, yathâ ahû vairyô yô âtravakhsô athâ ratus—yathâ ahû vairyô yô âtravakhsô yô zaotâ athâ ratus—yô bityô zaotâ.

Ashem vohû—yathâ ahû vairyô—fravarânê—frastuyê.

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Ustâ ahmâi; Vohû khsathrem vairîm;
Spe*n*tâ mainyû; Vahistâ îstis[1].

35. Which are the words thrice to be said?
Ashem vohû; Hukhsathrôtemâi;
Y*e* sevistô; Duzvarenâis[2].

36. Which are the words four times to be said?
Yathâ ahû vairyô; Â airyemâ[3].
Mazdâ a*d* môi vahistâ;

37. When is it that the Gâthas which a priest sings are not accepted?

The words he sings while doing the necessities of nature,

These words are not accepted.

Otherwise, in whatever fashion the pious man may offer the Staota yêsnya[4],

In the earlier part of the office or in the latter part of it (?),

Whether walking or running; standing, sitting, or lying; riding or driving; as long as he has his girdle on[5], he is accepted.

V. The sacrifice performed by a Zôt or a Râspî in a state of sin[6].

38. If the Zaotar be righteous and his assistants be in a state of sin,

If he know that they are in a state of sin,

What he recites himself is accepted.

If he know not that they are in a state of sin, the whole of the Gâthas is accepted.

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[1] Vd. X, 4. [2] Vd. X, 8. [3] Vd. X, 12.
[4] See above, page 312, note 2.
[5] His Kôstî; cf. Vd. XVIII, 1 (note 2), 54.
[6] Dînkart, l. l. § 5.

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39. Tanuperetha zaota dahma upasraotârô,
Yêzi dim tanuperethem vîvare (read vîdare),
Aêtavatô ratufris yavad framerenti.
Yêzi âad dim nôid tanuperethem vîvare,
Vîspanãm gâthanãm ratufris.
Dahmô zaota dahmô upasraotârô vîspê ratufryô.
Tanuperethô zaota tanuperethô upasraotârô vîspê aratufryô.

40. Kayâkid nâ dahmanãm zaothrâdha ratufris,
Nâirikauskid aperenâyûkahêka,
Yêzi vaêtha hâthanãm (read hâitinãm?) thwareseska frataurunauska,
Antare hâitisu yasnem frâizis[a].

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD II.

I. The celebration of the Gâhânbârs.

41. Yô gâthau asrâvayô ãstâ vâ tarômaiti vâ tanûm pereyêiti.
Kô ãstâ katârô maiti (read kâ tarômaiti)?
Yâ hakâ daênayâd mâzdayasnôid apastûitis[b].

42. Yô gâthau asrâvayô yâre drâgô apa tanûm pairyêiti.

---

[a] Nôid tâ nâirika kasu-khrathwa.
Ashem vohû vahistem astî, ustâ astî ustâ ahmâi.
Hyad ashâi vahistâi ashem.

[b] Yô haka daênayâd mâzdayasnôid apastôid,
Thris vaghsibis hakarad vîpaitikid.

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[1] 'Concerning the functions of a Zôt performed by a woman or a child' (Dînkart, l. l. § 6).

[2] See above, §§ 5–9 and notes.

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39. If the Zaotar be in a state of sin and the assistants be righteous,

If they know that he is in a state of sin,

What they recite themselves is accepted.

If they know not that he is in a state of sin, the whole of the Gâthas is accepted.

If the Zaotar be righteous and the assistants be righteous, the whole is accepted.

If the Zaotar be in a state of sin and the assistants be also in a state of sin, neither the one nor the other is accepted.

40[1]. Any one of the faithful is accepted as a Zaotar,

Even a woman[2] or a child,

If he know the ends and the heads of the chapters[3],

And know how to perform the acts of ritual between the chapters.

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD II.

I. The celebration of the Gâhânbârs.

41. He who does not sing the Gâthas, either out of unbelief, or out of impiety, becomes a Peshôtanu.

What is unbelief[4]? What is impiety[5]?

It is renouncing the Religion of Mazda.

42[6]. He who stays the year through without singing the Gâthas becomes a Peshôtanu.

---

[3] As there are certain repetitions of stanzas and certain ceremonial acts at the end of most of the Hâs.

[4] âsta: 'negation; when he says, there is no such thing as Religion' (Comm.)

[5] tarômaiti: 'when he says, it exists, but it is no good.'

[6] 'On the sin of him who does not celebrate the Gâhânbârs, and how they are to be celebrated' (Dînkart, l. l. § 8).

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Yêzi *a*unghãm ôyãm pêvâ*k*im framaraiti,

Pairi *s*ê hô paretô-tanunãm st*a*unghaiti (H.—T. staônghaiti),

Yahma*d* ha*k*a tem ava raodhe*n*ti[a].

Yô gâthanãm ôyem vâ*k*im apayâiti aêvãm vâ va*k*asta*s*tîm,

Thri vâ azâiti ayare drâ*g*ô vâ vâstryâ*d*;

Atha bity*a*u atha thrity*a*u,

Atha vîspem â ahmâ*d* ya*d* hê ha*ng*asa*n*ta yatha *k*athru*s*em y*a*u gâth*a*u asrâvayô hya*d* aradu*s*a hê *s*yaothanem.

Thrishûm tarô *hv*araya naêmem tarô bâzu*g*ataya vîspem tarô yâre drâ*g*ê hê him yâtem âstryêiti.

Ya*dk*i*d* pas*k*aiti aêvãm ratufritîm ava raodhayêiti tanûm pairyêiti.

43. Yô gâthanãm aêvãm ratufritîm ava raodhayêiti thri vâ âzaiti ayare drâ*g*ô vâ vâstryâ*d*;

Atha vîspem â ahmâ*d* ya*d* hê ha*ng*asaiti yatha thrishûm y*a*u gaêth*a*u asrâvayô od tanûm pairyêiti.

44. Yô gâth*a*u asrâvayô naêmem yâre drâ*g*ô,

Ta*d* paiti aênem dahmem gâthanãm sraothr*a*u pairi*s*tayêiti,

Yadhôi*d* naêm y*a*u gaêth*a*u (read gâth*a*u) asrâvayô hya*d* atha u âstryêiti;

[a] Sârahê.
Pa*nk*a tis*r*ô dasa u rathwãm.
Hazangrem maê*s*anãm (Âfrîngân Gâhânbâr, 7).
Hazangrem gavaãm (ibid. 8).
Rathwãm.

[1] According to the commentator Sôshyans: 'If he recite the whole in bâ*g* and only one word aloud.'

[2] If he has passed the fourth part of the year without celebrating the Gâhânbâr, any verbal fault he may afterwards commit shall be punished as an Aredu*s*, that is to say, with fifteen strokes of the Sraoshô-*k*arana (Vd. IV, 26).

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If he recite, were it only a word of them [1],

He escapes being in the number of the Peshôtanus,—

. . . . . .

He who shall omit a word of the Gâthas or a stanza,

Shall pay with three strokes (of the Sraoshôkarana) or a day's work;

The same on the second omission, the same on the third,

And so on until he let a fourth part of the year go without singing the Gâthas, when it becomes an aredus sin [2].

If he let a third part of the year go, his guilt is a *hv*ara [3]; if he let a half go, his guilt is a bâzu [4]; if he let a whole year go, his guilt is a yâta [5].

If afterwards he miss a ratufriti [6], he becomes a Peshôtanu.

43. If a man miss a ratufriti of the Gâthas, he shall pay for it with three (strokes) or a day's work;

And so on until he let a third part of the year go without singing the Gâthas . . . . . [7] he becomes a Peshôtanu.

44. If a man stay a half year without singing the Gâthas [8],

And also prevents another of the faithful from singing the Gâthas,

For the half year when he did not sing the Gâthas, he shall be in a state of sin;

[3] Punished with thirty strokes.

[4] The sin of breaking an arm: fifty strokes.

[5] The sin of breaking a leg: seventy strokes.

[6] One of the formulas of glorification to any of the ratus (?).

[7] To be filled up as in § 42.

[8] 'Without celebrating the Gâhânbârs' (Comm.)

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Paourum vâ naêmem yâ aparem vâ pairyastayêiti pisotanus[a].

45. Yô gâthau asrâvayô naêmem yau
Tad paiti aênem dahmem gainti
Ardus vâ aghryô [staorem] vâ bistaorem yâ yad mazanghem vâ hvarem
Hvarôid hê anghad kithayaêka upa-beretayaêka.

II. The limits of the several Gâhs.

II a. Gâh Ushahin.

46. Kahmâd haka ushahinanãm gâthanãm ratufris fragasaiti ?
Haka maidhyâyâi khsapad huvakhsâi pairi-sakaiti ;
Atha aiwigâmi.
Âad hama yêzi para huvakhsad ahunavadka gâthãm srâvayêiti,
Yasnemka haptanghâitîm ustavaitîm hâitîmka,
Anâsteretô paskaita avau yau anyau srâvayôid âmaêidhyâd fr. yârad (read frayârad) [b].

---

[a] Pairâu arstau khed.

[b] Ashem vohû 3, fravarânê Mazdayasnô—Ahurahê Mazdau raêvatô hvarenanghatô khsnaothra od frasastayaêka.—ashem vohû—khsnaothra Ahurahê Mazdau—humatanãm hûkhtanam hvarestanãm—nâ yasta.

Naratô kerethen.

Ashem vohû—yathâ ahû vairyô—ashem vohû 3 fravarânê mazdayasnô—haomahê ashavazanghô khsnaothra od frasastayaêka—ashem vohû 3 fravarânê—Zarathustrahê Spentamahê ashaonô fravasheê khsnaothra od frasastayaêka—ahurâi mazdâi—imem haomem yaunghãmka—Y. A. V. —A. V.—haoma pairi hareshyanti—syaothananãm—khsathremkâ—khsathremkâ—âdâi kahyâkid paitî—Y. A. V.—A. V.—A. V. 3, Fr.—tava âtars puthra Ahurahê Mazdau khsnaothra (âthrô Ahurahê Mazdau puthra tava Atars

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And for the half of the year, whether earlier or later, when he prevents (their being sung), he becomes a Peshôtanu.

45. . . . . .

II. The limits of the several Gâhs[1].

II a. The Ushahin Gâh.

46. At what hour does the celebration of the Ushahina Gâthas begin?

It continues from midnight to sunrise; thus in winter time.

In summer time, if one sing the Ahunavaiti Gâtha before sunrise,

As well as the Yasna Haptanghâiti and the Ustavaiti Hâ,

He may, without guilt, sing the rest of the Gâthas till the middle of the forenoon.

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puthra Ahurahê Mazdau khsnaothra)—A. V.—frastuyê—staomî ashem—staomî—A. V.—staomî ashem—vasaska te Ahura Mazda.

Amesha Spenta—imad Baresma hadhazaothrem min

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[1] On the limits of the five Gâhs of the day and night, and the ceremonies of the same (Dînkart, l. l. § 9). The five Gâhs (asnya), it will be remembered, are—

1. Ushahina (Ushahin), from midnight to the extinction of the stars, or Dawn.

2. Hâvani (Hâvan), the morning Gâh, beginning at dawn.

3. Rapithwina (Rapithwin), the midday Gâh.

4. Uzayêirina (Uzîrin), the afternoon Gâh, from Rapithwin to the appearance of the stars.

5. Aiwisrûthrima (Aipisrûsrim), from the appearance of the stars to midnight.

In winter there are only four Gâhs, Hâvani and Rapithwina being united.

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II b. Gâh Hâvan.

47. Kahmâd havanem gâthanãm ratufris fragasaiti?

Haka hû-vakhsad maidhyâi frayarâi pairi-sakaiti;
Hamatha itha.
Âad aiwi-gâmi maidhyâi uzayarâi
Yad vâ yatha uzarem yad yatha khsaparem[a].

Ahurâi Mazdâi od dathusô aêtad dim od vanghuka vanghauska.

Aêthraya varestãm—imad baresma—frastuyê—Y. A. V. —ashaya nô paiti gamyâd—hvarata narô—nadatum.

Gãm.

Nemô Haomâi mazdadhâtâi vanghus Haomô hudhâtô.

Hâvanânem âstâya—azem vîsâi—yô nô aêvô ad tû.

Pairi tê Haoma ashem vohû—A. V.—vanghuka vanghauska—yêNhê mê ashâd hakâ—syaothananãm.

Sastika—Ahurâi Mazdâi—Ameshâ Spentâ—imem haomem—yaunghãmkâ.

—Khsathremkâ—âthretîm khsathrô kereta hê gaosô berezô us shâvayôid.

Ashem vohû—yêNhê mê ashâd hakâ—haomanãmka haresyamnanãm—arsukhdhanãmka vakanghãm—athâ zî nû humâyôtara anghen—syaothananãm—âdâi kahyâkîd paitî—us môi uzâresvâ Ahurâ Ârmaitî tevîshîm dasvâ—ashaya dadhãmi imãm zaothrãm haomavaitîm gaomavaitîm hadhânaêpatavaitîm od tava Ahurânê Ahurahê vahistâbyô zaothrâbyô—tava Ahurânê adhi.

[a] Vohû ukhshyâ mananghâ imau raokau barezistem barezimanãm yahmî Spentâ thwâ mainyû urvaêsê gasô.

Ravaska hvâthremka âfrînâmi vîspayau ashaonô stôis ãzaska dusâthremka âfrînâmi vîspayau drvatô stôis. A. V. 3 vayôis uparôkairyêhê taradhâtô anyâis dâmãn aêtad tê vayô yad tê asti spentô khsnaothra—yazâi apemka baghãmka.

Haurvatâtô rathwô yâiryayau husitôis saredhaêibyô ashahê ratubyô ayaranãmka asnyanãmka mâhyanãmka yâ-

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II b. The Hâvan Gâh.

47. At what hour does the celebration of the Hâvani Gâthas begin?

It continues from sunrise to the middle of the forenoon;

Thus in summer time.

In winter time till the middle of the afternoon.

. . . . . .

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iryanãm*k*a saredhanãm*k*a vîspaêsãm yazatanãm pun yazamaidê ayara ashahê rathwô ratufretîs yaz. asnya ashahê rathwô ratufretîs yaz. mâhya ashahê rathwô ratufretîs yaz.

Yâirya ashahê rathwô ratufretîs yaz.

Saredha ashava ashahê rathwô ratufretîs yaz.

Âzât-mart guft havâ-t: ayara ashavana ashahê rathwô ratufretîs yaz.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazd*a*u puthra.

Khsathrô nafedlhrô Nairyô-sanghahê.

Ma*d* vîspaêibyô âterebyô.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazd*a*u puthra amat dû âthrô Ahurahê Mazd*a*u ma*d* vîspaêibyô âterebyô.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazd*a*u puthra.

Khsnûmainê m*a*unghahê [gao od] khsnûmainê dathusô.

Apãm vakhdûnisn aspô karp âm (read aspô-kehrpãm) pun mînisn yakhsûnêt.

Tîr yôm khsnûmainê danâ Tistryêhê stârô raêvatô *hv*arenanghatô Satavîsahê frâpahê sûrahê mazdadhâtahê.

Tistryêhê—Vana*n*tô.

Tistryêhê—Tistryêhê vâtahê ashâunãm.

Âthrô Ahurahê Mazd*a*u puthra ma*d* vîspaêibyô âterebyô Tistryêhê Vana*n*tô ge*u*s tasni vîspaêsãm.

Khsnûmainê amahê.

Pathay*a*u *hv*âsty[*a*u] zarenuma*n*tô sûrahê Saoka*n*tahê*k*a garôis mazdadhãtahê pathãm *hv*âstâitîm yaz.

Zarenuma*n*tem sûrem yaz. Saoka*n*tem gairîm mazdadhâtem yaz.

Râmanô *hv*âstrahê—thwâsahê.

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48. Kahmâd ahêka (read haka) apãm vanghînãm frâtis fragasaiti?

Haka hû-vakhsâd â hu-frâshmô-dâitôid pairisakaiti;

Tad hama tad aiwêgâma.

Yô âpê zaothrãm frabaraitê,

Paska hû-frâshmô-dâim para hû-vakhsâd,

Nôid vanghô ahmâd syaothanãm verezyêiti,

Yatha yad hîm azôis vishâpahê vastrem (read astrem?) paityâpta karsôid[a].

II c. Gâh Rapithwin.

49. Kahmâd haka rapithwanãm (H.—ratufrithwanãm T.) gâthanãm ratufris fragasaiti?

Haka rapithwayâd maidhyâi uzayarâi pairi-sakaiti[b].

II d. Gâh Uzîrin.

50. Kahmâd haka uzayairanãm gâthanãm ratufris fragasaiti?

Haka maidhyâi uzaryarâd hu-frâshmô-dâitêê pairisakaiti;

Hama itha.

Âad aiwigâmi yêzi para hû-frâshmô-dâtôid ahunãska vairyã frasrâvayêiti,

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Tistryêhê—Vanantô.

Khsnûmainê ashôis vanghuyau kistôis vanghuyau erethe vanghuyau.

Vîspaêsãm—2 berezatô, 2 dathusô.

[a] Apãm vîspaêsãm.

Vîspaêsãm—haomyãm.

A. V. 3, fravarânê: mâ gâs yakhsûnêt. aiwyô vanghibyô vîspanãmka apãm Mazdadhâtanãm berezatô Ahurahê nafedhrô apãm apaska mazdadhâtayau tava Ahurânê

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48. From what hour may the sacrifice to the Good Waters [1] be offered?

It continues from sunrise to sunset;

Thus both in summer time and in winter time.

He who offers libations to the Good Waters,

After sunset and before sunrise,

Does no better deed

Than if he should throw them downright into the jaws of a venomous snake [2].

II c. The Rapithwin Gâh.

49. At what hour does the celebration of the Rapithwina Gâthas begin?

From Rapithwa to the middle of the afternoon.

II d. The Uzîrin Gâh.

50. At what hour does the celebration of the Uzayêirina Gâthas begin?

From the middle of the afternoon to sunset;

Thus it is in summer.

In winter, if, before sunset, one sing the Ahuna Vairya,

Ahurahê khsnaothra [yasnâiĸa] od frasastayaêĸa apash vâg vakhdûnisn.

Frâ te staomaidê Ahurâne Ahurahê vangheus yasnâsĸa vahmâsĸa huberetîsĸa usta-beretîsĸa vanta-beretîsĸa yazatanãm, thwâ ashaonãm kukhsnîsa us bî barâmi, rathwasĸa berezatô, gâthausĸa srâvayôid frâ te staomaidi.

Miâ î razãgãda.

[b] Ashahê vahistahê âthrasĸa Ahurahê Mazdau yîspaêsãm.

Ashahê vahistahê âthrasĸa Ahurahê Mazdau puthra.

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[1] The so-called âp-zôhr (Yasna LXIII seq.; see the Guimet Zend-Avesta, I, 392–425).

[2] Cf. Vd. VII, 79.

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Apas*k*a frâitê,

Spe*n*tâ Mainyûm*k*a va*k*astas*t*em khs*v*as vahis*t*em srâvayti;

Anâsteretô pas*k*aita av*a*u (H.—ava*d* T.) y*a*u any*a*u srâvayôi*d* â maidhyâ*d* khs*a*pa*d*[a].

II e. Gâh Aiwisrûthrem.

51. Kahmâ*d* aiwisrûthremananãm gâthanãm ratufris fra*g*asaiti?

Ha*k*a hû-vakhâ*d*-frâshmô-dâite*ê* (read hû-frâshmô-dâite*ê*) maidhyâi khs*a*pê pairi-sa*k*aiti:

Ta*d* hama ta*d* aiwi-gâmi[b].

III. The offerings for the Gâhânbârs.

52. Yôi dâitya yaona (H.—yôna T.) *hv*are*n*ta (read *k*are*n*ta),

Gavâstra*k*a vares*n*au verezan*t*ô khratûm*k*a ashavanem aiwisha*n*tô,

Adhâityô-draonanghas*k*a he*n*ta,

Dâitîm g*e*us draonô upa isemnô ava apanghabde*n*ti;

Framare*n*tem aêsãm,

Nôi*d* aêtaêsãm ratufris ratufraitîm thweresâiti;

Yadhôi*d* aêtê framare*n*ti yadhôi*d* ratufryô[c].

53. Âa*d* aêtaya (read aêta ya) fra*k*are*n*ti keresãs*k*a gadhôitis*k*a,

Daêvis*k*a ha*n*daramana upa mraodes*k*a vîspô-khs*a*pô,

---

[a] Y. A.V.—a*d* tâ vakhs*y*â.

[b] Aêdha aiwyast*k*i*d* paiti apathrestemem*k*a*d* ptare*n*ta.

[c] Hazangrem maêsanãm dânunãm paiti-puthranãm narãm ashaonãm ashaya vanghuya urunê *k*ithîm nisirinuyâ*d* (Âfrîng. Gâhân. 7).

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And offer the libations to the Waters,
And sing the six stanzas of the Gâtha Spe*n*tâ-mainyu;
He may, without guilt, sing the rest of the Gâthas after sunset.

II e. The Aiwisrûthrim Gâh.

51. From what hour does the celebration of the Aiwisrûthrima Gâthas proceed?
It continues from sunset to midnight;
Thus both in summer time and in winter time.

III. The offerings for the Gâhânbârs.

52. If an honest man,
Working hard and teaching the Holy Wisdom [1],
Have no sufficient living,
And dream of getting sufficient meat [2];
If such a one only [3] recite (the prayers),
He who celebrates the festival [4] cannot charge him with non-celebration;
For as far as he recites (the prayers), he has celebrated the festival [5].

53. But men who live like robbers and highwaymen,
In knavery, brigandage, and debauchery every night,

[1] A profession which brings no great income to those who exercise it.

[2] 'They have bread, they have no meat,' and cannot therefore offer any meat for the Gâhânbâr.

[3] Without making any offering.

[4] The rich man who provides the offerings.

[5] 'He has as much merit as if he had presented pious people with a thousand goats big with kids' (Comm.), which is the reward promised for the celebration of the first Gâhânbâr (Afrîngân Gâhân. § 7).

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Dâityô-draonanghaska hantô,

Fradhâitîm dâitîm gaus draonô upôisemnô adha avanghabdemnô;

Aframarentem aêsãm,

Aêtaêsãm ratufris ratufritîm thwiresaitî.

54. Kãhya âg[a]va ratufris?

Yau avangha avau yau nâiryau yau puthrahê aperenâyôis.

Yau tanu-perethahê aparaothemnahê aghaurvaya ratufres.

Yau haka daêvayasnaêibyô ava urvaitya apa bara aya ratufris;

Tadha yad paiti barenti yâ aredusâd apaiti tad (read apaititad) âgaghaurva;

Yâhu varanghana;

Yâ adhâiti fravaityanãm (read fraraityanãm) frapa

Yâ nôid vîstem drvatô

Yad paiti baraunti

Nôid apaita nôid paiti kaya ratufres.

55. Ratufris apaityânô kãhya (H.—T. dãhya)

Ratufris havâ yâ nmânahê paiti rikyêihê

Yêzi vis hvâvôis dazdê ratufris [a]

Hvaretha yêzi aratufris.

56. Nôid pasuska bazda nôid irista anazdya ratufris.

Abanta airista anadya pairistanghara ratufris.

57. Ratufris pasuyebîs hvâstâiska ahvâstâiska zâyeska azâyêska (H. zyâiska azyâiska).

Ratufris patus (read pitus) hvâstâis nôid [anastâiska azyâis nôid] anazyâis.

Ratufris snâkeniska vîzuska hvâstâiska nôid anahvâstâis azyâis nôid anazyâis [b].

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[a] Yêzi âad his nôid his hvâvôya dazdê [a]ratufris yâ adhang[ang]hê—yêzi—hvaretha yazata ratufris.

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Who have plentiful living,
And dream of a surplus of meat;
If such men recite not (the prayers)[1],
He who celebrates the festival can charge them with non-celebration.

54. Whose meat-offering is accepted?
The offering of a man, of a woman, of a child.
The property seized on a criminal is accepted.
The property seized on heathens[2] who have broken a treaty is accepted;
Also the property that is brought having been seized on the committer of an unexpiated aredus;
The property seized in consequence of an ordeal;

. . . . . .

55. . . . . .

56. Sheep diseased, wounded, or lean, are not accepted.
Sheep not diseased, not wounded, and not lean-fleshed, are accepted.

57. Milk cooked or not cooked, from a fat cow or from a lean cow, is accepted.
Meat is accepted; cooked, not uncooked; from fat cattle, not from lean cattle.
. . . and . . . are accepted; cooked, not uncooked; fat, not lean . . .

---

[b] Paê aênyâi*k*i*d* (paêmainyâi*k*i*d*?) zaothraya.
58. hvô i*s*taê*s*va pasu*s* hvi*s*.
Yô pasûm avâi vînaoiti [pas*k*a] hû-frâshmô-dâitîm asao-*k*an*t*a*d* paiti âthrâ*d*.
Yatha vâ azô s*k*aêni*s* yatha hu*s* peresô.

---

[1] However rich may be their offerings.
[2] Foreigners, non-Zoroastrians.

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Ratufri*s* *k*aremanãm*k*a pasu-vastranãm*k*a,

Upa raêsatnâi*s* fraôiritarâ*d* naêmâ*d*;

Marâtanãm nôi*d* amarâtanãm azayanãm nôi*d* anazayanãm [a].

59. Ratufri*s* nâirikaya*u* kehrpa nôi*d* payanghô,

Nôi*d* sunô kehrpa payanghô;

Ratufri*s* vehrkaya*u* kehrpaya*u* payangha*k*a hadhô vîspanãm*k*a daêvayasnanãm [tanu]-perethanãm dûm hathra baodhô angha fraurvaêsyô.

60. Yô aêvô hadhô-gaêthanãm yô baresma*k*a frastare*n*ti ge*us**k*a paiti-bairaiti,

Adhâ*d* ainyê a*n*tara*d* naêmâ*d* hâthrahê va*k*as*k*a framavai*n*ti (read framravai*n*ti) gavâstryâ*k*a vare*s*na*u* verezen*t*i,

Vîspaêsãm*k*a aiwi-surunvaiti vîspê ratufryô [b].

Yêzi âa*d* nôi*d* aiwi-srunva*n*ti aêsô [ratufri*s*ô] rat[u]-f[r]ii*s*ô yô baresma frastere*n*ti ge*us**k*a paiti-baraiti [c].

61. Kahmâ*d* ha*k*a mazdayasnanãm (read myazdavanãm) myazdê ra[ê]thwaiti?

Yâ kh*s*udru ya*d* vâ yaz[a]*n*ti ya*d* vâ hãm-raêthwe*n*ti,

Ya*d* vâ frâ uithêtâtô perese*n*ti,

Ya*d* vâ aês*s*ãm anyô aêtahmâi dâiti dadhâiti [d].

---

[a] Ge*us* vâ aspahê vâ varesahê.

A. V. 3, fravarânê [mazdayasnô zarathu*s*tri*s* vîdaêvô Ahurahê *d*kaês*ô*].

—Ahurahê Mazd*a*u raêvatô *hv*arenanghatô kh*s*naothra y. v. kh. fr.—A. V.

[b] Athâ ratu*s* ashâ*d* *k*îd ha*k*â frâ ashava vîdhva*u* mraotû.

[c] Hazangrem maêsanãm (Afrîng. Gâhân. § 7).

Yaêsãm anghen*k*a thwârô mazdi*s*ta (read anghen *k*athwârô nazdi*s*ta).

[d] Ashem vôhû 3, fravarânê. mâ gâs yakhsanûnêt kh*s*nûman. Sraosahê ashyêhê takhmahê tanu-mãthrahê dareshi-

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58. . . . . Leather is accepted from the skin of an animal,

From under the raêsatna;

If supple, not if not supple; if from a fat animal, not from a lean one.

59. Woman's milk is not accepted,

Nor bitch's milk;

A she-wolf's milk is accepted; . . . . .

60. Of priests of one partnership[1] if one bind the bundle of Baresman and bring the offering of milk,

And the others, within a Hâthra distance, recite the words and perform the ritual acts,

And all make the responses[2], all are accepted.

If they make not the responses, the one who has bound the Baresman and brought the offering of milk is accepted.

61. . . . . .

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draos âhûiryêhê khsnaothra yasnâika od frasastayaêka 3 dûkânak kartak yô paoiryô mazdau dâmân apas âfrînagân pun rôisâ nôk nâpar A. V. 3, fravarânê. mâ gâs: hâvanêê u sâvanghêê rathwãm. khshnûman Ahurahê Mazdau raêvatô kartak î Ahurem Mazdãm ashavanem ashahê ratûm yaz. .·. hudhaunghem mazistem yazatem yim sevistem frâdad-gaêthem od ad zayênê (Y. XVI, 10). Apas âfrînagân pun rôisâ: rathwô berezad ashem vôhû 3, fravarânê. Pun Hâtôkht hadhaokhdhâi. pun Vîspôrat hâvanêê. khsnûman rathwô berezad, kartakî dâtâka aêtê Mazdayasna. Apas âfrînagân âi pun rôisâ pun mân-i sapîrân [u] mânîâtâsân: Ashem vôhû 3, fravarânê, mâ gâs yakhsûnêt khsnûman dahmayau vanghuyau âfritôis ughrâi dâmôis

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[1] Cf. page 305, note 3.

[2] Cf. § 20; in particular the atha ratus in the recitation of the Ahuna Vairya.

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62. Kahmâd haka myazdavanãm myazdê rathwaiti?
Yâ pâpithwa vasô akisteê,
Yad pairi baresman hangasantê âad ratufriteê.
Yad yazanti yad vâ hãm raêthwayêinti[a].
Yad vâ aêsãm anyô aêtahmâi dâiti dadhâiti.

63. Yaska mê aêtaêsãm mazdayasnanãm myazdavanãm aêtanghãm yad myazdanãm anahakhtô parabaraiti,
Nôid tâyus nôid hazangha bavad;
Aiwikikishmnâi âkakithamanãm stayâd.
Ainyô kaskid angheus astvatô para-baraiti âkau hazangha anakausê tâyus.

64. Yâ nara hâmô-hvaretha hamô-gaodana hamãm aêtê khshâudrunem zaothrãm barâtô hamãm pâipithwãm (H.—pâiptwãm T.—read pâpithwãm).
Paitinãm hâmô-hvaretha paitikâ gaodana,
Paitinãm aêtê khsadrem (read khshâudrem) zaothrãm barâtô hamãm pâpithwãm.
Paitinãm hvaretha hâmô-gaodana,
Hamãm aêtê khsaudrem zaothrãm barâtô paitinãm (H.) pâpithwãm.
Paitinãm hvaretha paitinãm [hvaretha hâmô] gaodana,
Paitinãm (H.) aêtê khsudrim zaothrãm barâtô paitinãm pâpithwãm[b].

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upamanâi khsnaothra y. v. kh. fr. dûkânak kartan apas tau ahmi nmânê [apas] âfrînagân pun rôisâ zag-î 10 yôm pun Farvartîgân zag-î pang yôm [fartûm] A. V. 3, fravarânê. mâ gâs yakhsûnêt khsnûman. Ahurahê Mazdau ashâunãm, kartak-î yau vîsâdha âvayanti; apas âfrînâmi pun rôisâ zag-î pang yôm dar gâs aê A. V. 3, fravarânê [mâ gâs] yakhsûnêt khsnûmainê Ahurahê Mazdau gâthâbyô uashâunãm apas kartakî yau vîsâdha apas âfrînagân-î pun rôisâ pun stôtîh

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62. . . . . .

63. If one of the Mazda-worshippers who share in the Myazda [1] carry off part of it without due leave,

He is no thief, he is no highwayman [2];

He shall pay the penalty they may exact.

Any other man in this world who shall do that [3], if he does it openly is a highwayman; if secretly, he is a thief [4].

64 [5]. If two men have the same food and the same plates, they shall offer the same libation of wine and the same meat.

If they have the same food and separate plates, they shall offer separate libations of wine and the same meat.

If they have separate food and the same plates, they shall offer the same libation of wine and separate meat.

If they have separate food and separate plates, they shall offer separate libations of wine and separate meat.

A. V. 3, fravarânê. mâ gâs yakhsûnêt apas khsnûman Sraosahê asyêhê; kartak yô vananô.

[a] Yad athavatha veresô nôid verezenti ayûp aiwithweres —mruâka—yaskâ.

[b] Haurvô pasô Frasaostrô naêmo paithwa Zarathustrô.

---

[1] The public religious banquet which is one of the characteristics of the Gâhânbâr festival. It is given at the expense of the rich, and both rich and poor take part in it.

[2] As he has a general right to it, though he ought not to have taken it without authority.

[3] A man who does not belong to that Myazda.

[4] See above, page 35, note 1.

[5] The case foreseen in this obscure paragraph seems to be that of two men, members of the same Myazda, according as they each bring their separate fare or not.

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IV. The Libations.

65. *K*aiti nâ aêvahê pasvô zaothrâ*d* (read zaothr*a*u) barâ*d*? *k*atangrô.

Atha dv*a*u atha thryãm;

*K*aturãm aêvãm kahyâi*k*i*d* tadha frayanghãm.

*K*va*d* gaonahê avabarâ*d*?

Yâ dvaêibya erezubya ha*n*gerefa*d* (H.—ha*n*gereftâ*d* T.),

Dashenem â vâ gaonavatô,

Bare*s*nsô vâ paiti vaghdhanahê[a].

Vîspaê*s*ãm a*n*tare (read âtarem?) paiti-narôi*d* (read paiti-barôi*d*)[b].

66. *K*va*d* nâ âpa (read apê) frata*d* *k*aretê khsâudrem payanghãm paiti-barâ*d*? yatha tâsta zaothrôbarana.

Âa*d* tûirinãm yatha thri*s* *hv*arethema raêthwi*s* ba*g*inô (H.—ba*g*anaô T.);

Âa*d* pait*e*u*s* (read pit*e*u*s*) yatha *k*athwârô a*s*ti masô ainaidkim nãz*a*u.

67. *K*va*d* nâ apê armaê*s*taya khsâudrinãm payanghãm paiti-barâ*d*? yatha thri*s* *hv*arema raêthwa ba*g*inô.

---

[a] Pouru*k*i*d* uthahê (H.—uthdhahê T.) amat *k*î kabad ûth ya*d* aêta*d* ha*n*gasa*u*ntê paouru-gaonahê uthahê*k*a.

[b] Tarô yasnem haptanghâitîm yêze*n*tem nôi*d* âthrô fravatim*k*a ya*d* nôi*d* g*e*u*s* vîmatim.

Ya*d* franata bun.

Y*a*unghãm*k*â aêt*a*usêtê âtere zaothr*a*u.

Pasvâ zanghem âstaya.

Da*s*ina paiti aredhangha.

*K*athwaresatem gaoshem frâyazâmaidê.

Ta*d* *k*ithrem*k*a.

Ithrishûm *a*unghâ*d* uthem sadayâ*d*.

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IV. The Libations [1].

65. How many Zaothras shall a man bring for one head of cattle?—Four.

As many for two, as many for three;

For four, one more for each head.

How much gaona [2] shall he pull out?

As much as he can seize on a space of two fingers,

Either on the right hand of the gaona part [3],

Or on the summit of the head.

Of all of them he shall throw the gaona into the fire.

66. Of liquid milk how much shall the man bring to a running stream [4]?—As much as a cup for libation [5] contains.

Of milk in cheese three times as much as the cup for mixing and dividing [6] contains;

Of meat as much as four asti (?) . . .

67. Of liquid milk how much shall he bring to the water in a pond? Three times as much as the cup for mixing and dividing contains.

Âthrô ahurahê mazdau puthra mad vîspaêibyô âterebyô garôis usi-darenahê mazdadhâtahe asha-hvâthrahê.

Yaunghãmkâ—yazamaidê—Ahurem Mazdãm—Ameśâ Spentã—humatanãm—srîrem (H.—srîm T.) aredumem.

YêNhê hâtãm—humatanãm—4 Y. A. V. 3 A. V.

---

[1] 'On the number of zôhrs [to be taken] from a head of cattle' (Dînkart, l. l. § 11). The goat furnishes the milky element, the gîv, for the zôhr.

[2] Hair? [3] The hairy part?

[4] As an âp-zôhr to a running stream.

[5] A zaothrô-barana (zôhr-barân; Visp. X, 2).

[6] Cf. Vd. XIV, 8.

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Avi (H.—ava T.) gereftem paitim (read pitum) gerebyâ*d*;

Fradaris*ta*k*id* tûirinãm fradarayôi*d*.

Nâvayayâi itha apê;

Âa*d* nâvayâi,

Avaêzô aêtangh*a*u frabareta dâstra masô paiti-barô (H.—pai-barô T.) [a],

Aipi *g*aghaurvatãm aspayanãm*k*a payanghãm gâvayanãm*k*a maêsininãm*k*a buzinanãm*k*a [b].

Avaêzô pasûm hãm pukhdhem mananghô (read zemananghô) nôi*d* payanghô

Us*k*a âpê shauô gâvayâi*s*

Khshva*s* vaghzibi*s* a*n*tare barôi*d*

Yatha nôi*d* aêti nidâiti*k*a airi*s*yã

Âzi dim aêtaêsãm daonô- (H.—baonô- T.; read baodhô-) *g*aiti*s* astâraiti [c].

68. Avatha frabereta zaothr*a*u frabarôi*d*,

Atha hâvana haomãn hunyâ*d*,

Yatha hava*d* vaêtha*d* atha mê zaothrê yêtê (read zaothr*a*u ya*n*tê) rao*k*ahê nôi*d* a*n*tare temahê.

Vîdâyâ*d* zi yatha hô ashi*s* angha*d*;

Vîspanãm zi asras*k*i*n*tem parâ*k*a (H.—prâ*k*a T.) aêsayamananãm daêva raêzaêtê upa [n]ukhturusu tuthraêsu asrâvayamnâ*d* paiti Ahunâ*d* vairyâ*d*;

Athâ yô dim fraha*nk*i*n*tare âtarem*k*a baresma*k*a,

Anairyanãm ta*d* dahyunãm verethrâi uz*g*asaiti [d].

---

[a] Fridhast ãz*a*u.

Avaêzô pasûm hãm pukhdhem (cf. infra).

*K*ithrem *k*i*d* (H.; T. *k*ik*k*threm *k*i*d*).

[b] Taurva pay*a*u bavâ*d* aspayâa*dk*a khrayâa*dk*a.

A. V. 3, Fr.

Geus tasnê geus urunê.

Tava geus hudh*a*unghô urunê.

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There he shall dip and take up the same quantity of meat [1];

There he shall hold out cheese.

The same shall it be for river water;

But for river water,

The Frabaretar [2] may bring, without guilt, for a half,

Boiling milk of mares, cows, sheep, or goats.

. . . . . .

68. The Frabaretar shall bring the libations,

The Hâvanan shall prepare the Haoma,

In such a way that the libations, prepared to the best of their knowledge, come to me by daylight, not in the darkness [3].

For there is no piety without knowledge [4];

For all libations poured out and presented, that are poured in the darkness of night, and without singing the Ahuna Vairya, flow to the benefit of the Daêvas [5];

And if one pour them without looking at the fire and the Baresman,

They accrue for the victory of the Anaryan countries [6].

Yavâkem gæus.

Khsnaothra.

Ashasara manangha.

Ashasara vaŋhangha ashasara syaothana.

[c] YÊNHÊ mê ashâd haŋkâ vahistem—yêsnê—paitî.

[d] Ashemŋka dapasŋka hû-frâsmô-dâitîm.

---

[1] As prescribed for a running stream. [2] See § 68.

[3] Cf. § 48, and Vd. VII, 79.

[4] Offering up the sacrifice without a proper knowledge of its rules and practice is no piety.

[5] Cf. Vd. VII, 79. [6] The hostile countries.

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69. Yô paiti apê barâiti nôid baresmainê,
Yêzi baresma antarâd naêmâd aêsô draogyêhê yavô frathyêhê,
Paiti baresmakid paiti-barôid;
Yêzi nôid thri vâ paiti âzâiti ayare drâgô vâ vâstryâd.
Yô paiti baresmainê nôid apê,
Yêzi âfês (read âfs) antarâd naêmâd thrigâmahê,
Paiti apaêkid (H.—apaêmâd T.) barôid;
Yêzi nôid paiti-baraiti thri vâ âzâiti ayare drâgô vâ vâstryâd [a].

70. Yad baresma aêsô drâgô yavô frathô kavakid aêtahê paiti-barôid.
Yad masyô aêtahmâd baresma,
Yatha aêtahê frasterenâiti atha aêta hê paiti-barôid.
Yad zaota Ahurem Mazdãm yazâiti madhimâi baresmãn paiti-barôid;
Ameshe Spente yazâiti frâtemâi baresmãn paiti-baroid;
Apô ad yazamaidê haotemâi baresmãn paiti-barôid;
Ashâunãmka urunaska fravashiska yazamaidê ashnôtemâi baresmãn paiti-barôid.
Vîspaêibyô yasnô-keretaêibyô madhemâi baresmê paiti-barôid [b].

---

[a] Âpô vyaudau mâtarô gîtayô. Râtôis.
Avavad tadha yatha kathwârô erezvô.
Surunuyau. Vîspaya âfrînâmi.

[b] Kudô-zâtanãmkid, narãmka, nâirinãmka, yaêsãm vahêhîs, daênau, vanainti [thrakhti] vanghen, vaonare, khsathremkâ.
Yâis azâthâ mahmâi hyâtâ avanghê mad vau padâis yâis frasrûtau îzayau pairigasâi.

---

[1] If the libations are intended for the water, not for the Baresman.

[2] The words 'a yava's breadth' seem to be out of place here. They may have crept in from the usual formula 'an aêsa long, a yava thick' (cf. Vd. XIX, 19; infra §§ 70, 90).

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69. If he bring the libations to the water and not to the Baresman [1],

If the Baresman be distant an aêsa's length, a yava's breadth [2],

He shall bring them over the Baresman;

If not, he shall pay three strokes (of the Sraoshô-karana) or a day's work.

If he bring the libations to the Baresman and not to the water,

If the water be distant three steps,

He shall bring them over the water;

If not, he shall pay three strokes (of the Sraoshô-karana) or a day's work.

70. If the Baresman be an aêsa long, a yava thick [3], one may bring them on any part of the Baresman.

If the Baresman's size be larger,

He shall bring them on the point where the bundle is tied.

While the Zaotar sacrifices to Ahura Mazda [4], he brings them on the middle of the Baresman;

While he sacrifices to the Amesha-Spentas [5], he brings them before the Baresman;

While he says: 'We sacrifice to the Waters [6],' he brings them on the left side of the Baresman;

While he says: 'We sacrifice to the souls and Fravashis of the Holy Ones [7],' he brings them on the right side of the Baresman.

---

[3] If it has the normal dimensions.

[4] When he recites the formula: 'We sacrifice to Ahura Mazda' (Ahurem Mazdâm . . . yazamaidê; Yasna LXIII).

[5] While he pronounces the words: 'We sacrifice to the Amesha-Spentas' (Ameshâ Spentâ yazamaidê, ibid.)

[6] Yasna LXIII. [7] Ibid.

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Dakhsamaêstim aêtad baresma yad paiti-âpem frânayantema [a].

71. Apa adhâd frabareta aêtâibyô zaothrâbyô yâiti

Yaunghãm nôid aiwyô vanghibyô frabaravad (read frabarad?)

Frâ aêtau zaothrau barôid

Zaota geus pâityâi pôid (read paityâpôid) paoiryô frangharôid

Mrûiti aêta zaota imãm vakô [b].

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Frasa adhâd . . . arâd naêmâd yoguyastôis pai . . . asenti aêsmãska bareska [c].

V. Functions and places of the Zôt and Râspis at the Sacrifice.

72. Kis zaotars kairim anghad mazdôis (H.—mazdayasnôid T.—read myazdôis) ain?

Gauska (read gâthauska) frasrâvayâiti vakimka anghê astvâiti paiti adhayâd: athâ ratus.

Âad hâvanânô (H.—hâvayâd nânô T.) [yad] haomemka ahunavad anghavanemka vaêmanâd.

73. Âad âtravakhshahê yad âtremka aiwa-vakhsayad âthraska tisrô thrakhtis yaozdathad,

Zaothraska vâkim paiti adhayâd: athâ ratus.

74. Âad fraberetars yad âthraska aêvãm thrakhtim yaozdathad,

Baresmãnka frakem âthraêka yasnô-keretaêibyô paiti-barâd.

75. Âad âsnatâra yad haomemka âsnayâd haomemka paiti-harezâd [d].

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At all the sacrificial formulas [1] he brings them to the middle of the Baresman [2].

. . . . . .

71. . . . . .

. . . . . .

V. Functions and places of the Zôt and Râspis at the Sacrifice [3].

72. What shall the Zaotar do on the day of a Myazda [4]?

He shall sing the Gâthas and shall give response to the people: athâ ratus [5].

The Hâvanan . . . .

73. The Âtravakhsha shall feed the fire and cleanse the three faces of the fire-altar, and shall give response to the Zaotar: athâ ratus.

74. The Frabaretar shall cleanse the fourth side of the fire-altar,

And shall bring the transverse stem of Baresman [6] and shall bring the incense to the fire at all the sacrificial formulas (all the yênhê hâtãm).

75. The Âsnâtar shall wash the Haoma and shall strain the Haoma.

---

[a] Yazâi âpem.

Tava âthrô—tava âthrô âhurahê. . . . .

[b] Amesha Spenta daêna mâzdayasna.

[c] Yâta raêsãm frâyu . . . . tem vanghad aêtadha upa gerembayãn. . . . .

[d] Vîspauska âthrô.

---

[1] At all the Yênhê hâtãm.

[2] See, on these ceremonies, the Guimet Zend-Avesta, I, 395–397.

[3] Dînkart, l. l. § 13. [4] In a Gâhânbâr office.

[5] See above, p. 341, note 2.

[6] The baresmãn frakem or frâkh-gâm, frâgâm, a stem that rests on the feet of the Barsomdân or Mâhrû.

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76. Âa*d* raêthwi*s*-karahê ya*d* haomem*k*a gava rathwayâ*d* bakhshayâa*dk*a.

77. Âpem â-beres â-barâ*d*. Sraosâvarezô aiwyâkh-*s*ayâ*d*.

78. Zaotara dâityô-gâtu*s*

Madhemya nmânahê madhemâ*d* arâthrao*d* apa sritô.

79. Stuiukhti*s* hâvanânô dâityô-gâtu*s*

Da*s*inem upa srakhtim fratarãm baresmãn aparãm âthrô.

Haoyâ*d* haê naêmâ*d* âsnatâr*s*.

Âtravakh*s*ahê dâityô-gâtu*s*

Da*s*anem upa thrakhtem fratarãm âthrô.

Fraberetar*s* dâityô-gâtu*s*

Haomyãm upa srakhtim fratarãn baresmãn.

Da*s*inâ*d* haê naêmâ*d* raêthwi*s*karahê.

Anaiwi-eretavô (H.—erezvo T.) gâtu*s* aêta âbereta srao*s*âvarezahê v*lk*arayatem.

80. Yêzi*k*a aêti ratavô anahakhti pairigaya*n*ti,

Zaota vîspa ratu thwâi*s* rashaya*n*ti

Aêvadha âsnâthra*d* hâvaynânê raêthwayêiti.

Zaota anahakhtô paraya*d* dãhistâi ar*s*va*k*astemâi zaothrem raêkh*s*aiti.

81. Ya*d* aêvô zaota frayazâiti mayazdahê ai*n* zaotar*s* gâtava,

Aêtaya myazdê aiwi-vaidhayêiti rathwaê*k*a myazdaê*k*a rathwaê*k*a,

---

[1] In the modern sacrifice there are only two priests who divide between them the functions of the eight priests. The Râspî, who takes his name from the Rathwi*s*kare, represents rather the Atravakhsha whose place he occupies near the fire, and who, of all the assistants of the Zaotar, is the one whose services can least be dispensed with (see, however, § 81).

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76. The Raêthwiskara shall mix the Haoma and the milk, and shall divide the mixture.

77. The Âberet shall bring the water. The Sraoshâvarez shall superintend.

78. The right place of the Zaotar
Is in the middle of the house, . . .

79. . . . the right place of the Hâvanan
Is on the right side, opposite the Baresman, behind the fire.
On his left-hand side shall the Âsnâtar stand.
The right place of the Âtravakhsha
Is on the right side, opposite the fire.
The right place of the Frabaretar
Is on the left side, before the Baresman.
On his right-hand side shall the Raêthwiskara stand.
The places of the Âberet and the Sraoshâvarez are not fixed; they come and go.

80. If these assistants[1] go without the leave of the Ratu,
The Zaotar may make all the mixtures
Without the Âsnâtar and the Hâvanan.
If the Zaotar go without leave, the preparation of the Zaothra shall fall to the wisest and truest[2] of the assistant priests.

81. If the Zaotar sacrifice alone[3] on a Myazda day, at the place of the Zaotar[4],
He shall announce that Myazda to the Lord (of the festival) and to the Lord of the Myazda[5],

[1] The most respectable of the priests present.
[2] Without his seven assistants. [4] At his ordinary seat.
[5] He announces the banquet to the Ratu of the Gâhânbâr, that is to say, to the Genius of the Gâhânbâr which is being celebrated, and to the Genius of the religious banquet itself.

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Vîspay*a*u sã*k*adh*k*a ashaonô stôi*s* yasnâi*k*a vahmâi*k*a kh*s*naothrâi*k*a frasastayaê*k*a.

Zaotar*s* gâtava Ahunem vairîm frasrâvayôi*d*.

*S*yaothanô-tâitya hâvanaêibyô paiti-*g*anghôi*d*,

Hâvanânô gâtûm.

Âtravakh*s*ahê gâtava âtrem aiwi-vakh*s*ayôi*d*.

Fraberetar*s* gâtûm [yasnem haptanghâitîm] frâyazaiti.

82. Yas*k*a aêtaê*s*ãm rathwãm paoiryô paiti (â) *g*asâ*d* hâvanânem aêtem âstayêiti;

Bitîm âtravakh*s*em; thritîm fraberetârem; tûirîm dânazvâzem (H.—dânazvânem T.);

Pukhdhem âsnatârem; kh*s*tûm raêthwi*s*karem; haptathem Sraoshâvarezem.

83. Adhâ*d* anyaê*s*ãm rathwãm paiti âdhayôi*d*

Aêtaê*s*ãm ratavô azdâi

Thrigâmi a*n*tare ana*n*tare atha a*n*tare patatha

Ya*d* a*n*tare vâ âa*d* a*n*tare vâ paiti vâ thri vâ âzâiti ayare drâ*g*ô vâ vâstryâ*d* [a]

Zaothranãm paiti*s*ta sti myazdôi*s* (H.—paiti*s*ta stimyazdôi*s*) ai*n* [b].

84. Avayô vana*n*ti Spitama Zarathu*s*tra yô fraurvaêrkhtê (read fraurvakh*s*tê?) hava [hê vanai*n*ti]!

Âvoya druya*n*ti (read dru*g*a*n*ti) Spitama Zarathu*s*tra yô fraurvaikhti havahê urunô dru*z*aitê (H.—dru*z*ahê T.)

---

[a] Yadhôi*d* gaêm yava*d* erezva.
Thri-gâmi aiwyâstâ*d* ha*k*a baresma parâiti.
Var*s*tas*k*i*d*.
Vanghar*s*tas*k*i*d* (cf. § 109).

[b] Ratu*s* râuininãm dâthranãm srâvananãm*k*a pasu vastranãm*k*a ahaowã.

---

[1] One of the words in the second line of the Ahuna Vairya.

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For sacrifice, prayer, gratification, and glorification to all the creation of the Good Spirit.

He shall sing the Ahuna Vairya in the place of the Zaotar.

At the word shyaothananãm[1] he shall spring to seize the mortar,

Into the place of the Hâvanan[2].

From the place of the Âtravakhsha he shall feed the fire.

From the place of the Frabaretar he shall celebrate the Yasna Haptanghâiti.

82. And of those masters he who comes first represents the Hâvanan[3];

Secondly, the Âtravakhsha; thirdly, the Frabaretar; fourthly, the Dânazvâza[4];

Fifthly, the Âsnâtar; sixthly, the Raêthwiskara; seventhly, the Sraoshâvarez.

83. . . . . .

84[5]. Woe to the struggler who struggles for the joy of his own soul[6], O Spitama Zarathustra!

Woe to the deceiver who deceives for the joy of his own soul[7], O Spitama Zarathustra!

---

[1] The Hâvanan being the priest who holds the mortar and pounds the Haoma and the Urvarâm.

[2] The case here is the most ordinary one, when besides the Zaotar there is one Râspî who represents, one after the other, the seven assistant priests.

[4] The Dânazvâza, 'the water-bearer,' is the same as the Âberet.

[5] 'That the best of sacrifices is to give presents to the righteous, to teach and study the Law' (lit. the Intelligence of the Righteous), Dînkart, l. l. § 14.

[6] 'Any evildoer who helps to do evil; some say, the warrior that helps the evil deed and does not repress it' (Comm.)

[7] 'Any man who does evil with his tongue; some say, the priest that teaches error' (Comm.)

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Âvoya [dârem (read dâthrem)] dadhâiti Spitama Zarathustra yêN[hê dâ]thrahê dâiti *k*ôi*d* hava urva vâ râza (read urvâza ?)

Dâthri zî paiti nivâiti*s* vîspahê angheu*s* astvatô humataêsu*k*a hûkhtaêsu*k*a hvarestaêsu*k*a.

Aêsa zaothranãm mazista*k*a vahista*k*a sraêsta*k*a
Yâ nairi ashaonê dasti aiwi*k*a haithi *k*ishânâi*k*a
Paiti*k*a pâresmanâi khratûm ashavanem.
Ashem vohû.

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD III.

I. The Kôstî and Sadara.

85. Aiwyâsta mazdayasna gâthau srâvaya*d* nôi*d* anaiwyâsta.

Kva ithra aiwyau[ngayau]nti ? adhairi kasaêibya.

*K*va*d* aiwyaunghayaunti ?

Ya*d* aêsãm aredvaê gavastryâ varist*k*au verezantãm nôi*d* avangrâsayâ*d* adhairi harethraêibyô [a].

86. Nanetema vastrahê aiwyâstô ratufri*s* ?

Yatha âthravanô bi*s* paii (read paiti) bi*s* maidhyôi-paitistânô.

87. Kva tâ*k*ta*d* aêtahê aiwyâstô ratufri*s*.

Ya*d* masyô aêtahmâ*d* vâstrem,

Aêtava[tô] aêtahê nistema (read nitema) aiwyâstô ratufri*s*.

Yô aiwyaunghayêâitê karetes*k*a aratufryô

Pas*k*a aiwyâstem nitaosayêiti ratufryô.

88. Yêzi thri*s* hâthrau t*k*ô (read hathrau*nk*ô) yâtayentê ratufryô.

Yêzi âa*d* nôi*d* hathrau*nk*ô yâtayanti aratufryô.

---

[a] Threuitasti aspayau paourvô azyau aregô.

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Woe to the giver who gives for the joy of his own soul [1], O Spitama Zarathustra!

For the gift that delivers all the bodily world consists in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.

And the best and finest of all libations

Is the gift to the righteous man who teaches clear truth and consults the Holy Wisdom [2].

NÎRANGISTÂN.

FARGARD III.

I. The Kôstî and Sadara [3].

85. The Mazda-worshippers shall sing the Gâthas with their girdle on, never without their girdle [4].

Where shall they gird it?—Under the armpits.

How much of it shall they gird around?

So much that, while they work standing, the ends should not embarrass them below the skirts.

86. What is the least garment he shall wear [in order that his offering should be] accepted?

A pair of drawers reaching to mid-leg.

87. However poor the garment be, he is accepted.

If the garment be of higher value,

He is, however, accepted only if it is that size at least. . . . . .

88 [5]. . . . . .

---

[1] The Pahlavi translator read nôi*d* instead of *kôid*: 'he gives gifts of woe, for which he shall have no joy.'

[2] Who studies the Law; cf. Vd. XVIII, 6.

[3] Dînkart, l. l. § 15. [4] Cf. Vd. XVIII, 1–4, 54–59.

[5] This paragraph and the two following, referring to the preparation of the Baresman, appear to have been misplaced, as §§ 91–96 continue the remarks on the Zoroastrian's garment, and the Baresman is again the subject of §§ 97 seq. The right order therefore would be: 87, 91–96, 88–90, 97.

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89. Yô anu aêsãm baresma frastare*n*ti yatha ashava *G*âmâspô frastarenaêta ratufri*s*.

90. *K*va*d* nânitima baresmana ratufri*s* ? thri*s* urvara.

*K*ya*u* vâiti*s*a (read *k*ya*u* vaiti*s* ?) aêtaya*u* urvaraya*u* anghen ?

Tarô denârô varesô stavanghô,

Âa*d* upema aêso drâ*g*angha yavô frathangha.

91. Yô vanghenti kereti*s*ka,

Paiti vanghãsk*a* khre uru baouris*k*a,

Yêzi a*n*tarem asperenô vastrahê aiwya*u*nghaya*un*ti ratufryô ;

Anasperenô vastrahê aiwya*u*nghaya*un*ti aratufryô.

92. Yô vanghaiti varena*u*sk*a* pairi-urusvaisti*s*,

A*d* kesk*a* (read atkesk*a*) frazusô sanghask*a* uparasmanâi,

Yêzi azarem aiwya*u*nghya*un*ti ratufryô ;

Aparem aiwya*u*nghya*un*ti aratufryô.

Anyãmk*a* sutem vanghânahê narem na aratufryô.

93. Yô vastra vastrem aiwya*un*ti,

Uzbare*n*ti aratufryô ;

Uparâ*d* naêmâ*d* ava-bare*n*ti atha aiwya*u*nghaya*un*ti ratufryo.

94. Yêzi uzgeresnâvayô (read uzgeresnâ-vaghdhanô) niva*n*ti,

Yêzi a*n*tarâ*d* naêmâ*d*

Yâ hama aiwya*u*ngha*k*a aiwya*u*nghaya*un*ti,

Yêzi a*n*tare bre*n*gayâiti (read derezyâiti) va ratufryô ;

Yêzi â nôi*d* a*n*tare derezyâiti va aratufryô.

95. Yô aiwya*u*nghaya*un*ti rusk*a* nmânâi nmânayãsk*a*,

Yêzi tarask*a* aiwya*u*nghana aipi-verek*ain*ti ratufryô ;

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89. He who binds the bundles of Baresman as the holy *G*âmâspa [1] did, is accepted.

90. How many stems of Baresman, at the least, are needed for the offering to be accepted?—Three [2].

What shall they be like?

. . . . as thick as a hair,

At the outside an aêsa long, a yava broad.

91. Those who are clothed with rags,

. . . . . .

If the inner garment be complete, they are accepted;

If they wear not a complete (inner) garment, they are not accepted.

92. . . . . .

93. When they put on the garment over the garment [3],

If they put it on from below, they are not accepted [4];

If they put it on from above [5], and then gird it on with the girdle, they are accepted.

94. . . . . .

95. . . . . .

[1] According to the proper orthodox rite: *G*âmâspa was one of the first converts to Zarathustra's doctrine.

[2] Cf. Yasna LVII, 6; Yt. XII, 3.

[3] The Sadara on the Kôstî.

[4] As the garment has passed by the regions of the body where Ahriman is supposed to reign.

[5] It slips from the head on to the shoulders and breast.

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Pas*k*a vâ pairi bare*n*ti aratufryô.

Yô vanghaiti nadhe*s*ka sâdhaya*n*tis*k*a *k*aremãn*k*a huki,

Maghanãm tinãm (read tanum) aiwyâstãm iriri*s* nôi*d* anaiwyâsti astare*n*ti;

Yêzi âa*d* nôi*d* maghnãm tanu aiwyâstãm ririshiâ anaiwyâsta stre*n*ti.

96. Yô gâthâ ratufri*s* paiti paraya*n*ti,

Yêzi aspkere*n*tô (read asperenô) vastrahê aiwyâstem dâdarayô â anaiwyâsti stre*n*ti;

Yêzi âa*d* nôi*d* asperenô vastrahê aiwyâstrem dâdarayô nôi*d* anaiwyâstô.

II. The preparation of the Baresman.

97. Yô baresmãn frastare*n*ti haomãs*k*a varedhe*s*ka thanvas*k*a a*n*tare dâta,

Yêzi thri*s* hâthra k*e* bi*s* (read hâthrakaêbi*s*) yayêi*n*ti (read yâtayêi*n*ti) ratufryô;

Yêzi âa*d* thri*s* (?) nôi*d* thri*s* hâthrâk*e*bi*s* yâtaya*n*ti aratufryô[a].

98. Yô urvarãm baresma frastare*n*ti hamô-vareshe*g*im paouru-fravâkhse*m*,

Vî-barô fravâkhsô ratufri*s*, nôi*d* vî-barô.

Pairi*s* pairi-fravâkhsô frastare*n*ti,

Vî naras*k*a (read vî-bares*k*a) avî-bares*k*a ratu*s*.

99. Yô baresma anahmâ*d* naêmâ*d* hãm srishâiti hãm vâ darezayêiti,

Vî-barô ratufri*s*, nôi*d* vî-barô.

Atha yatha yô hãm vaê*s*yâ hãm vaê*sk*ayêiti vanaêma hãm sri*s*aiti vares*k*a iverbares*k*a ratufri*s*.

100. Yô baresma taoshyêiti drao*s* vâ paiti sôinma,

Unãm vâ ka*dk*i*d* vâ paiti sidaranãm,

Yêzi tisrô dinânô hâthrâ*k*i*s* nis-hi*s* *k*a*n*tifratufri*s* (read ni*s*-hista*n*ti aratufri*s*).

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96. . . . . .

II. The preparation of the Baresman[1].

97–101. . . . . .

[a] Yô rathe*s*ka pasvarezde*s*ka baresmaênê hãm vare*n*taye*n*ti.
Naratô karaithin.
Zata ratu*s* fre*n*k.
Kãm*k*i*d* vâ vakhshi*s*ãm.
Zatô fre*n*.

[1] 'On the way of gathering and tying the Baresman' (Dînkart, l. l. § 16).

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Yô urvaraya*u* ava vaê*k*e*n*ti,

Yêzi tisrô tarô denânô (read denârô) hathra *k*is (read hathra*k*is) bare*n*ti fratufris (read ratufris);

Yêzi âa*d* nôi*d* tisrô tarô denânô (read denârô) hathra *k*is (read hathra*k*is) bare*n*ti aratufris.

101. Yô zemo tisrô karesha*u* frakârayêiti,

Ava itha bare*n*ti yavahê vâ gavanahê vâ,

Yêzi tisrô dtarô (read tarô) denânô (read denârô) hathra*k*is a*n*tara spe*n*ti (read ha*n*dareza*n*ti ?) ratufris;

Yêzi âa*d* nôi*d* tisrô tarô dedânô (read denârô) ha*n*dareza*n*ti aratufris.

Yô anyêhê as-hya baresma frastare*n*ti,

Yêzi paiti sha*u* uravara*u* upa dadhâiti ratufris;

Parô upa dâta*u* frastare*n*ti aratufris.

102. Hapta he*n*ti hâvana ratavô baresma sterenaêiti:

Paoirya yênhê mê ashâ*d* ha*k*â;

Bityâ ahunanãm vairyanãm;

Thrityâ dâidî môi;

Tûiryâ ustavaitya*u* vâ spe*n*tâ mainyus vâ hâtôis ha*n*dâtâ;

Pukhdha yênhê mê ashâ*d* ha*k*â;

Khstvô dâidî moi;

Haptatha ustavaitya*u* vâ spe*n*tâ mainye*u*s vâ hâtôis ha*n*dâtâ.

Âa*d* anyâhu ratufrisu *k*atangrô dangha*u*s*k*a*u*i*d* (read kangha*u*s*k*ôi*d*) baresmãn frastaraityô:

Paoiryâ yênhê mê;

Bityâ ahunãn vâîrân;

. . . dâidî môi ye gãm;

Tûiryâ ustavaêtaya*u* gâthaya*u* vâ Spe*n*tâ mainye*u*s vâ[a].

Kvaê aêtãm asmem (read aêsmem) paiti-barâ*d* a*n*tare ahuna airyanemna[b]?

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102. There are seven Lords of Hâvani for whom one lays down the Baresman[1].

The first is at yênhê mê ashâd haka (Yasna XV, 2).

The second is at the Ahuna Vairyas.

The third is at dâidî môi (Yasna XVIII, 1).

The fourth is at the end of the Hâ Ustavaiti (Yasna XLIII), or of the Hâ Spentâ Mainyu (Yasna XLVII).

The fifth is at yênhê mê ashâd haka (Yasna LI, 22).

The sixth is at dâidî môi (Yasna LXV, 15).

The seventh is at the end of the Hâ Ustavaiti, or of the Hâ Spentâ Mainyu.

In the other rites[2] the Baresman is laid down four times.

The first time at yênhê mê; the second time at the Ahuna Vairyas; [the third time at][3] dâidî môi ye gãm; the fourth time at the Gâtha Ustavaiti, or the Gâtha Spentâ Mainyu.

103. . . . . .

[a] 103. Dâityâi pairistâi pairisti.
Frârathnê drâganghô varis-stanghaska.
[b] Khsnaothra yazamaidê yasnemka.
Barata beretem akyauskangha âtars aêsmem dâityô-aêsmãn.
Nivaêdhayêmi yatha yim Ahurem Mazdãm fradathâi nemô vîvahua u yâsangha âtars baoidhîm aêtãm baoidhîm dâityô-baoidhyô.

[1] This seems to mean that there are seven passages of the Yasna in the celebration at the Hâvan Gâh, at which the Zaotar lays down on the Mâhrû the Baresman which he holds in his hand. Cf. the Guimet Zend-Avesta.

[2] In the Vîsperad and the Dvâzdâhômâst.

[3] The words ahunãn vâîrân are in Pahlavi, and thrityâ is omitted.

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Umem*k*i*d* (read ôyum*k*i*d*) ava vâ*k*im gâthanãm asrutem paiti-barô aratufri*s*.

Pas*k*a vâ pari vâ pairi bare*n*ti aratufris[a].

Od, fra*k*arâtô aêva Mazdayasna baresmãn stere*n*ti,

Yô anu aê*s*ãm ta*d* ahma (read hama) ta*d* aêvê gâma.

Âa*d* aê*s*a yô aremôidô (read aremôi-*s*âdô) aiwieretô gâtu*s*,

Aêvayaya*k*i*d* aê*s*ô baresmô steraiti ratufri*s*.

Frashâvayô aiwigâmi ratufri*s* paiti nôi*d* afrashâvayô.

Kâ frashûiti*s* ya*d* kva*d*[b]?

Frâ vâ apa vâ shâvayêiti,

Âa*d* hama y*a*u paiti fraya*d* t*a*u paiti âa*d* baresmãn upa-baraiti.

104. Yô anyêhê dahmahê baresma frastare*n*ti fra*g*asaiti,

Yêzi hôi dahmô a*n*tarâ*d* naêmâ*d* hâthrahê arạtufri*s*.

Yêzi âa*d* nôi*d* dahmô a*n*tarâ*d* naêmâ*d* hâthrahê barô (read narô) hâthrâ*d*

Frathrâthvayô (read frasrâvayô) ratufri*s* nôi*d* athrâvayô (read asrâvayô).

III. The firewood and implements of Sacrifice.

105. Yô kem*k*i*d* dahmanãm aperenâyunãm a*s*tem dasti,

Hâ: mê bara aêsma*k*a baresma*k*a;

Yêzi *s*ê dâiti dadhâiti aratufri*s* (read ratufri*s*)[c].

Yêzi âa*d* hê nôi*d* dâiti dadhâiti aratufri*s*.

Nâirikãm vâ aperenâyûkm (read aperenâyûkem vâ) a*s*tem dasti,

Havâi rathwê pathayêiti.

Daêvayasnem vâ tanuperethem vâ a*s*tem dasti,

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104. If a man come and tie the Baresman of another of the faithful[1],

If the latter be within a hâthra distance, the former is not accepted[2].

If the latter be not within a hâthra distance[3], the former man is accepted if he sing the hymns[4]; if not, he is not accepted.

III. The firewood and implements of Sacrifice.

105. If a man give a charge to a child of a pious family[5],

And say: 'bring me wood and Baresman;'

If the child bring wood already cut[6], the worship is accepted.

If the child do not bring wood already cut, the worship is not accepted.

If he give the charge to a woman or to a child,

. . . . . .

If he give the charge to a Daêva-worshipper, or to a man in a state of sin,

---

[a] Athâ ratus mazdayasnô ahmî mazdayasnô Zarathustris, od, âstûitis nemô ve gâthæu ashaonîs ustâ ahmâi.

[b] Khsvas vaghzibîs (cf. § 67, end).

[c] Nôid thryãm upamanãm frâkhsashyanãm (read fravâkhshayanãm).

---

[1] A priest has prepared everything for the sacrifice, when another priest comes, possesses himself of the apparatus, and offers up the sacrifice.

[2] He could easily have asked for the permission of his fellow-priest and had no right to act without it.

[3] So that he could not be easily asked for permission.

[4] If he performs the whole of the ceremony.

[5] Of a good sacerdotal family. The child serves him as a ratunaya (a sacerdotal servant).

[6] It is not certain that the young ratunaya could do it properly.

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Paoiryâi dahmanãm pairi-geremyâi pathayêiti [a].

106. *K*va*d* nâ nitema aêsmahê paitibarô ratufri*s*?

Yatha vareshnahê kehrpahê d*e*u*s*.

107. Havanaêibya ratufri*s* ayanghanaêibya zemaênaêibya,

Yêzi anusv*a*u a*n*ta.

Nôi*d* astaênaêibya nôi*d* draonibya ratufri*s* nôi*d* fravâkhs*n*aêibya ratufri*s*.

Dâityô aênyô havanô adâityô (read dâityô) aêibyô (read aênyô) [b].

108. *K*va*d*bya kâ nitemaêibya hâvanaêibya aratufri*s* (read ratufri*s*)?

Yâthra yãstuma (read yâ thrayãstuma) huitîm hi*s* *hv*istô.

*K*yâva*n*tô aêt*e*ê (read aêtê) ãsavô anghen?

Bashidra*g*anghô aogê (read aêvô-?) varesô.

Ka*d* hãm thrisa vîbarâ*d* nôi*d*?

Thrayãm kva*k*i*d* upabarô ratufri*s*.

Aêtava*d* âpô yava*d* aêtaêibyô upangharest*e*ê.

Kva tâ*k*i*d* g*e*u*s* vî*k*ithra paiti-barô (a)ratufri*s*.

Asânaênaêibya (read asânaêibya) nâ havaêibyâ*k*a (read havanaêibya*k*a) nâ vanghavaêibyas*k*a (read nâ vâ anghavaêibyas*k*a);

Atha haomya atha apa (read apa atha varesa) atha aiwy*a*unghana;

(read hava gava) havahê aêsma hava baresmana.

109. *K*va*d* aêtaê*s*ãm ahûrânê kâ*k*î*d* upa isâ*d*-yava*d* hâthrem

Yô aêtaê*s*ãm nôi*d* kâ*k*i*d* upô isâ*d* aêtava*d* apayaê*s*a

---

[a] Nôi*d* thrayãm upamanãm fravâkhs*y*anãm upa-thweresôi*d*. Athweresaya aêtahê thwãm.

[b] Yatha vadhâityô (read va dâityô) hita.

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. . . . . .

106. What is the least load of wood accepted?

. . . . . .

107. One may use a mortar of [silver], metal, or earth,

If it let nothing through (?)[1].

One of bone, wood, or lead is not accepted.

Such is the rule for both parts of the mortar[2].

108. Of what size at the least must a mortar be to be accepted?

Large enough for three stems of Haoma to be prepared [therein].

What shall those stems be like?

As long as a joint of a finger, as thin as a hair.

Shall he put them in at three times or not?

As long as he puts in three stems[3], he is accepted.

Also water enough to overflow them[4].

However little milk he puts in[5], he is accepted.

He may use either his own mortar, or one that is not his own;

And so it is as to the Haoma, the water, the Varesa[6], and the tie[7];

But the milk must be his[8], the wood must be his, the Baresman must be his.

109. . . . . .

[1] 'If it let anything escape, it is good for nothing' (Comm.)

[2] The mortar proper and the pestle.

[3] Whether he puts them all in at once or otherwise.

[4] For the straining. [5] A few drops of *gîv* are enough.

[6] Supplied from the Pahlavi translation (îtûn vars).

[7] The vegetable tie that is bound around the Baresman, the so-called Aiwyaunghana (Evânghin).

[8] Supplied from the Pahlavi translation (barâ zag-î nafshâ basryâ).

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A*n*tare hathrem*kid* aête*ê* anya upa isôi*d*

Yêzi nôi*d* upôisaiti thri vâ âzâiti ayare drâgô vâ vâstryâ*d*

Yô upôisôi*d* nôi*d* vanasti

Anas*k*aiti (read anâstaraiti)

Vare*s*tas*k*a min aîgh *n*tas*k*i*d* (read vare*s*tas*k*a maghne*n*tas*k*i*d*) srâvayôi*d*. (Tahmuras' Fragments, XII, 11.)

Yêzi is*k*a nôi*d* is*k*a nôi*d* anashavanem (read ashavanem) aênis*t*em âstâraiti[a]. (Tahmuras' Fragments, XII, 12.)

---

[a] Vanghare*s*tas*k*i*d*.

Rathi*k* upasu varezi*k*.

Ashem vohû vahis*t*em astî us*t*â astî us*t*â ahmâi hya*d* ashâi vahis*t*âi ashem.

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VII. SUNDRY FRAGMENTS.

1.

*K*ithrem buyâ*d*.

Found in a Parsi prayer known as *K*ithrem buyâ*d* from its first two words. It was published by Tîr Andâz in his Khorda Avesta (Bombay, p. 374 seq.) and by Sachau in his Neue Beiträge (Vienna, 1871, p. 823).

*K*ithrem buyâ*d* ahmya nmânê
Pitum buyâ*d* ahmya nmânê
Thwãm pitûm buyâ*d* ahmya nmânê.

May welfare appear in this house!
May plenty of food be in this house!
May plenty of food be in thy house!

2.

The first of the following three lines, and sometimes the first two, are found in many of the Pahlavi colophons at the end of Zend manuscripts. The complete formula is found only in the colophon of the old Yasna of Kopenhagen (K^5; see Geldner, Yasna LXXII, 11; West, Dînkart, 484).

Aêvô pa*n*ta*u* yô ashahê
Vîspê anyaêshãm apa*n*tãm
Angrahê mainye*us* nasi*s*tãm daênãm daêvayasnanãm parâ*g*îtîm mashyânãm frâkereitîm.

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There is only one way of Righteousness[1];
All other ways are no ways:
It is Religion, that destroyer of Angra Mainyu, which tears to pieces the Daêva-worshippers, the men who live in sin.

3.

A formula found in several colophons.

Nôi*d* *k*ahmi zazva yô nôi*d* urunê zazva
Nôi*d* *k*ahmi zazusha [yô nôi*d* urvãni *g*azush]
Naê*k*i*s* adha Zarathu*s*tra sû*s* yathâ [hîm] âdare mashyâka[2].

He has gained nothing who has not gained the soul,
He shall gain nothing who shall not gain the soul[3].
There is no good for man to receive of him[4], O Zarathustra!

4.

This fragment from the Hâdhôkht Nask is quoted in the Sad-dar (ch. xl) to impress on children the respect due to their parents and masters.

Mâ âzârayôi*s* Zarathu*s*tra mâ Pourushaspem mâ Dughdhôvãm mâ aêthrapaiti*s*.

---

[1] 'The way of the Pôryôtkêsh' (Paoiryô-*d*kaêsha; Ar*d*â Vîrâf, CI, 15), that is, the pure orthodox religion, as founded by Zarathustra and followed by his first disciples.

[2] For various readings, see the Guimet Zend-Avesta, III, 150–151.

[3] The salvation of his soul, a place in Paradise. The Mînôkhard (I, 28–32) quotes the same passage with the following commentary: 'For the spiritual world and the material one are like two fortresses, of which one can clearly take the one, but not the other' (at the same time).

[4] Of Ahriman. 'There is no profit to expect from the demons nor from the wicked: for if there be profit in the beginning, at the end there will be ruin' (Comm.)

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Do not afflict, O Zarathustra! either Pourushaspa[1], or Dughdhava[2], or thy teachers.

5.

*K*athrâyâim âthraiãm (Shâyast lâ-Shâyast XIII, 17).

The manifestation by the fire[3].

6.

Anaomô mananghê kya vîsâi kva parô[4]?

7.

This is an Avestâ-î mâr zadan (or text to be recited while killing a serpent). 'If one recite it while killing a serpent, one gathers thereby the same merit as if one had killed a heretic' (Gr. Ravâyat, p. 383). The text is too corrupt to allow of any translation, but it contains allusions to Varshna, son of Hanghaurvaungh, son of *G*âmâspa, whose Fravashi is invoked in the Frôhars Yast, § 104, to withstand the evil Pairikas, and who, from the present formula, appears to have been a dragon-destroyer.

Varshnahê thwãm anghrô Urushnôis *G*âmâspanahê puthrahê puthrem apaitighni amâ yim davata Ashis apathatô paitîm âpem dãmnsâvyãm nôid hvâzâtô nôid zâniti nôid amau arenau *hv*âis âtêê yaza agithô ânem sâyaêti yvaêka yavaêtâtaêka. Ashem vohû.

[1] His father. [2] His mother.

[3] The manifestation of the truth by the fire-ordeal.

[4] A quotation in the *K*îm-î gâsân 6 (West, Pahlavi Texts, I, 356, with the various readings in note 1).

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VIII. AOGEMAIDÊ.

'THE Aogemaidê,' says Dastur Jâmâspji, 'is a treatise that inculcates a sort of serene resignation to death.' It is a sermon on death, originally written in Pahlavi, but preserved to us in a Parsi transcription; in which original Zend texts are developed or paraphrased. These Zend quotations amount to twenty-nine, of which twenty-four are new. A good edition of the Parsi text, with a Sanskrit translation, based upon a manuscript of A. D. 1497, has been published by Prof. Geiger (Erlangen, 1879). Dastur Jâmâspji possesses two Pahlavi retranscriptions of an independent Parsi manuscript, which contain useful corrections and additions. We have thought it necessary to give here a complete translation of the treatise as the Zend quotations by themselves do not present either a continuous or a complete text. Unlike the Zend in the Nîrangistân, they are not the principal, but only the secondary text.

1. Aogemaidêḱa usmahiḱa vîsâmadaêḱa[1] ('We come, rejoice, and submit[2]').

I come, I accept, I resign[3];

2. I come into this world, I accept evil, I resign myself to death[4];

---

[1] Yasna XLI, 5. According to Dastur Peshotan, these words were uttered by the first man, Gayô-Maretan, before his coming into the world, as a promise that he would never resort to suicide in order to free himself from pain (Andarze Atrepât, p. 6, note 1). Cf. § 104.

[2] Direct translation of the Zend text.

[3] Parsi translation of the Zend text.

[4] Parsi gloss to the translation.

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3. Shâtô-manaŋu vahistô-urvânô ('With the mind in joy and the soul in bliss[1]'):

In joy is he who realises the wish of his soul[2].

4. May the accursed Ganâ Mainyô[3] be smitten, destroyed, and broken, he who has no knowledge, who has evil knowledge, who is full of death,

5. Who destroys the body of the immortal soul!

6. May the immortal soul have its share in Paradise!

7. And may the pleasure and comfort that will dissipate the pain of the immortal soul come to us!

8. At the fourth dawn[4], may the holy, strong Sraosha[5], and Rashn Râst[6], and the good Vaê[7], and Ashtâd[8] the victorious, and Mihir[9] of the rolling country-side, and the Fravashis of the righteous[10], and the other virtuous spirits come to meet the soul of the blessed one,

9. And make the immortal soul pass over the Kinvad bridge[11] easily, happily, and fearlessly!

10. And may Vahman, the Amshaspand[12], intercede for the soul of the blessed one,

---

[1] Direct translation of the Zend text.

[2] A gloss to the Zend text.

[3] For Zanâ Mainyô, the same as Ahriman.

[4] Literally at the third day-break (the day-break, ôshbam, belonging to the preceding day, the following dawn belongs to the fourth day). On the state of the soul during the first three days-and-nights, or sadis, see Yt. XXII, and above, pp. 218–220.

[5] See above, p. 89, note 1; p. 196, note 3.

[6] See Yt. XII.

[7] See Yt. XV, and above, p. 52, note 3. The Good Vaê or Vâi is the Good destiny, that takes the soul to Paradise.

[8] See Yt. XVIII. [9] See Yt. X. [10] See Yt. XIII.

[11] See above, p. 219, note 1. [12] See above, p. 220, note 1.

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11. And introduce it to Auhrmazd and the Amshaspands!

12. Usehista*d* Vohû-Manô ha*k*a gâtvô zaranyô-keretô ('Up rises Vohû-Manô from his golden throne[1]').

13. He will take the blessed one by the hand,

14. And make him rejoice as much as does the man who rejoices most when on the pinnacle of nobility and glory.

15. And the Fravashis of the righteous will bring to the soul of the blessed those blessed aliments that are made at the time of Maidyô-zarm[2]:

16. *Hv*arethanãm hê beretãm zaremayêhê raoghnahê ('Let them bring unto him the butter of Maidhyôi-zaremaya[3]!').

Aliments of waters, wine, sugar, and honey!

17. Yatha vâ erezatô paiti, yatha vâ zaranyô paiti, yatha vâ kâ*k*i*d* gaonanãm ('Of silver, or gold, or any other kind[4]').

The Amshaspand Vahman will give to the soul of the blessed one clothes embroidered with gold and a golden throne;

18. And the demon Ahriman will be powerless to inflict any harm or damage on the soul of the blessed one.

19. Pas*k*a parairistîm daêva drva*n*tô duzda*u*nghô baodhem avatha frateresen*t*i, yatha maêshi vehrkavaiti vehrkâ*d* ha*k*a frateresaiti ('The wicked evil-

[1] Vd. XIX, 31. [2] See Yt. XXII, p. 318, note 1.
[3] Yt. XXII, 18.
[4] This refers to the following details: silver, gold, &c. are the materials of which the throne is made.

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doing Daêvas tremble at his perfume after death, as doth a sheep on which a wolf is pouncing[1]').

As the sheep, on which the wolf is pouncing, tremble at the odour of the wolf, so these Druges tremble at the perfume of the blessed one.

20. For whosoever has been born and whosoever shall be born must act in such a way that, when the moment comes to leave this world, he may have Paradise as his portion and Garôthmân as his reward.

21. There is a passage in which Hôrmazd said to Zarathustra: 'I created, O Spitama Zarathustra! good renown and salvation of the soul;'

22. (That is to say, good renown in this world and salvation of the soul in the next[2]).

And in case of doubt we must consider as being saved[3],

23. Him who, for all we have seen and known, has been a believer in body and soul, and has rejoiced Hôrmazd and afflicted Ahriman,

24. And whoever has had this for his main object, or has been the source of this benefit, that from him should flow prosperity and joy, and from him should flow no harm and no pain.

And there is a passage in which the soul says to the body[4]:

25. Âad mãm tanvô ithyêganguhaiti manya manangha humatem.

---

[1] Vd. XIX, 33, and notes 4, 5.

[2] See above, p. 253, § 4, note 5.

[3] Asho, 'holy, blessed, saved;' in opposition to drvant, 'wicked, damned.'

[4] Supplied from the Pahlavi transcription.

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O thou, my perishable body, think good thoughts with thy mind!

26. Âa*d* mãm tanvô ithyê*g*anguhaiti hizva mrûidhi hûkhtem.

O thou, my perishable body, speak good words with thy tongue!

27. Âa*d* mãm tanvô ithyê*g*anguhaiti zastaêibya vareza hvare*s*tem shyaothanem.

O thou, my perishable body, do good deeds with thy hands!

28. Mâ mãm tanvô ithyê*g*anguhaiti angrâi vairê fraspayôi*s* yim khrva*n*tem âithiva*n*tem, yim daêvîm afraderesava*n*tem frâkere*n*ta*d* angrô mainyu*s* pôurumahrkô bune*m* angheu*s* temanghahê ya*d* ereghatô dao*z*anghahê.

O thou, my perishable body, do not throw me down into the Var of Angra Mainyu[1], terrible, dreadful, (frightful), dark, undiscernible (for the darkness there is so dense that it can be grasped with the hand[2]), which Ganâ Mainyu fabricated at the bottom of the dark world of endless hell.

29. There is a passage in which Hôrmazd says to Zarathustra:

30. I created, O Spitama Zarathustra! the stars, the moon, the sun, and the red burning fire, the dogs, the birds, and the five kinds of animals[3]; but, better and greater than all, I created the righteous man who has truly received from me the Praise of Asha[4] in the good Religion.

31. But without any reason men adhere to that

[1] Hell. [2] See above, p. 66, note 5. Cf. Ard*â* Vîrâf XVIII.
[3] See Yt. XIII, 10 and note.
[4] The recitation of the Ashem Vohû, the epitome of religion.

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evil guide, Passion, created by the demons; so that they do not think of Fate,

32. And by the bent of their nature they forget death.

33. They do not keep in mind the working of Time and the transientness of the body,

34. They ever go wandering about on the way of desire,

35. They are tossed in doubt by evil Passion,

36. They clothe themselves with spite, in the course of strife, for the sake of vanishing goods;

37. They are intoxicated with pride in their youth,

38. And shall be full of regrets at the end of their time.

39. For if one say: 'On this earth of the seven Kar*s*vares there is somebody going to die,' everybody ought to think: 'Perhaps it is I,'

40. Had he sense enough to know that every creature that has been created and has had existence shall die, and that the unseen, deceiving Astivihâd[1] comes for every one.

41. Hamas*k*i*d*[2] parô avanghô ise*n*tê mashyâk*a*unghô ('All men wish for supplies').

(Now) when a man sets out on a journey, he takes provisions with him;

42. If it be for one day's march, he takes provisions for two days;

43. If it be for two days' march, he takes provisions for three;

---

[1] Astivihâd, Astî-vahât, Astô-vídhôtu; see Vd. V, 8 and note 2.

[2] From the Pahlavi transcription. The printed edition has amesha*k*i*d*.

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44. If it be for ten days' march, he takes provisions for fifteen;

45. And he thinks that he will come back in health to his well-beloved friends, parents, and brethren.

46. How then is it that men take no provisions for that unavoidable journey,

47. On which one must go once for all, for all eternity?

48. *K*im aoshangh*a*u aoshanguhaiti ãstem isaiti tanva, *k*im uruna, *k*im frazai*n*ti, *k*im vâ gaêthâhvô mahrkathem?

How is it that a mortal can wish for another mortal the annihilation of his body (that his body should be no more [1]), or of his soul (that his soul should be damned [1]), or death for his children or for his cattle (that his cattle should perish [1]), if he has sense enough to know that he himself is mortal?

49. Anâmare*z*dikô zî asti havâi mare*z*dikâi.

For he is pitiless to himself (he does not pity himself [1]) and none of the others shall pity him.

50. Blind are all those who, on this earth, do not follow the religion, do not benefit the living, and do not commemorate the dead.

51. Oiuim ta*d* vâ . . . . ayare â*g*asaiti, Spitama Zarathu*s*tra! aêva vâ khshapa ('For there comes a day, O Spitama Zarathu*s*tra! or a night').

There comes a day, O Spitama Zarathustra! or a night, when the master leaves the cattle, or the cattle leave the master, or the soul leaves that body full of desires;

52. But his virtue, which is of all existences the

[1] A gloss.

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greatest, the best, the finest, never parts from a man.

53. Ayare âmithnâiti *g*uyê tanus frayaêrê ayãn bavaiti hubadhrô hupaitiznâtô[1], adha aparê ayãn duzâthrem ('Every day the living man ought to think that in the forenoon he is happy and in credit; in the afternoon disgrace may come').

Every day every living body ought to think (for that may happen any day): in the forenoon I am happy, rich, in credit (that is to say, well treated by the king);

54. And every day other people eagerly wish him evil; that he should be torn away from his palace, that he should have his head cut off and his wealth seized upon. Every day the living body is thrown for food to the birds that fly in the empty sky.

55. This is the way of things on this earth.

56. Deusdâtayau fraêsta drvantô duzdaunghô ('It is ignorance that ruins most people, those ill-informed').

It is ignorance[2] that ruins most people, those ill-informed; both amongst those who have died, and those who shall die.

57. Âad mraod Ahurô Mazdau frâkerestô Astôvîdhôtus zirigau (read zivigau?) apairiayô ('Ahura Mazda said: Astôvîdhôtus has been created a destroyer of the living and one whom none escape').

Hôrmazd said: Astivihâd has been created for the destruction of mortals (when the mortals see him, they tremble so much that they are unable to

[1] Corrected from hupaitianâtô (translated padîraft).

[2] Ignorance of their mortal destiny.

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struggle with the Drug) and no one escapes him (as said before) [1].

58. Yahmad haka naêkis bungayâd aoshanguhatãm mashyânãm ('From whom not one of mortal men can escape').

From whom not one of mortal men can escape; no one has escaped to this day, and no one will escape hereafter.

59. Nôid aêthrapatayô, nôid daNhupatayô, nôid sâsevistau, nôid asevistau ('Neither aêthrapaitis, nor chiefs of countries, neither well-doers, nor evil-doers').

Neither the herbed (the Mobedân Mobed [2]), nor the chief of the country (the King of kings [3]), neither well-doers, nor evil-doers.

60. Nôid usyãstakô, nôid niyã ('Neither those who run up, nor those who go down').

Neither those who run up (those who fly in the empty sky), like Kahôs [4]; with all his strength and kingly glory, he could not escape from Astivihâd.

61. Nor those who go down deep (who hide themselves under the earth), like Afrâsyâb the Turk, who made himself an iron palace under the earth, a thousand times the height of a man, with a hundred columns [5];

62. In that palace he made the stars, the moon, and the sun go round, making the light of day.

63. In that palace he did everything at his pleasure,

64. And he lived the happiest life.

---

[1] Cf. § 40. [2] The chief of the religion, the high-priest.
[3] The Shâhanshâh. [4] Cf. above, p. 262, note 7.
[5] See Yt. V, 41 and notes 1, 2.

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65. With all his strength and witchcraft, he could not escape from Astivihâd.

66. Naêdha frakanem aNhau zemô yad pathanayau skarenayau dûraêpârayau.

Nor he who dug this wide, round earth, with extremities that lie afar, like Dahâk,

67. Who went from the East to the West, searching for immortality and did not find it.

68. With all his strength and power, he could not escape from Astivihâd.

69. Anyê angheus frashô-karethrau ('Except the producers of the world of resurrection[1]').

Thus until the author of the resurrection, Saoshyôs[2]: until Saoshyôs comes, no one shall escape from Astivihâd.

70. To every one comes the unseen, deceiving Astivihâd,

71. Who accepts neither compliments, nor bribe,

72. Who is no respecter of persons,

73. And ruthlessly makes men perish.

74. And this glorious One[3] must go the way he never went,

75. See what he never saw,

76. And discuss with him whom no one can deceive or mislead.

77. Pairithwô bavaiti pantau yim dânus pâiti fra bunâd takintis; hau did aêvô apairithwô, yô vayaos anamarezdikahê:—

The way may be traversed which is barred by

[1] No others will escape death.

[2] Thus shall it be till the days of Saoshyôs (Saoshyant; Vd. XIX, 5, note 4).

[3] This King, this man of power.

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a river springing from the deep; but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu[1].

78. Pairithwô bavaiti pa*n*ta*u* yim a*z*i*s* pâiti ga*u*stava*u*, aspanghâdhô, vîranghâdhô, vîra*g*a, anamare*z*dikô; ha*u* di*d* aêvô apairithwô, yô vayao*s* anamare*z*dikahê:—

The way may be traversed which is barred by a serpent as big as an ox, horse-devouring, man-devouring, man-killing, and pitiless; but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

79. Pairithwô bavaiti pa*n*ta*u* yim a*r*eshô pâiti akhshaênô anamare*z*dikô; ha*u* di*d* aêvô apairithwô, yô vayao*s* anamare*z*dikahê:—

The way may be traversed which is barred by a brown bear, [with a white forehead, man-killing, and] pitiless; but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

80. Pairithwô bavaiti pa*n*ta*u* yim mashyô gadhô pâiti aêvô*g*anô anamare*z*dikô; ha*u* di*d* aêvô apairithwô, yô vayao*s* anamare*z*dikahê:—The way may be traversed which is defended by a highwayman who kills at one stroke, (who stops the way and lets no one pass alive); but one way cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

81. Pairithwô bavaiti pa*n*ta*u* yô haênaya*u* *k*akhravaitya*u* vyâzdaya*u*; ha*u* di*d* aêvô apairithwô, yô vayao*s* anamare*z*dikahê:—

The way may be traversed which is held by a horde armed with discs, and uplifted spears (that is, carrying spears to pierce men); but one way

[1] The way of Destiny.

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cannot be traversed, namely, the way of the pitiless Vayu.

81 bis. Âa*d* mrao*d* Ahurô Mazda*u*: du*s*khratûm apairi gaêthãm athrâvaya*d* gâthãm [1].

82. Yatha drv*a*u gaom isti, uta drv*a*u aspem isti, uta drv*a*u maêshinem yavanghem isti:—

The wicked acquire cattle, the wicked acquire horses, the wicked acquire sheep and corn; but the wicked tyrant does not acquire a store of good deeds.

83. Seek ye for a store of good deeds, O Zarathu*s*tra, men and women! for a store of good deeds is full of salvation, O Zarathu*s*tra!

84. Pãsnu*s* gavô, pãsnu*s* aspa, pãsnu*s* erezatem zaranim, pãsnu*s* narô *k*iryô takhmô:—

(For) the ox turns to dust, the horse turns to dust, silver and gold turn to dust, the valiant strong man turns to dust; [the bodies of all men mingle with the dust. What do not mingle with the dust are the Ashem-vohû which a man recites in this world and his almsgiving to the holy and righteous] [2].

85. For if there were or could be any escape from death, the first of the world, Gayômard, king of the Mountain [3], [would have escaped],

[1] This incomplete quotation is found only in the Pahlavi transcription, with a corrupt paraphrase as follows:—'Hormazd said, "The man without intelligence (that is, with a bad intelligence) . . . who has not sung the Gâthas (that is, who has not performed the sacrifice; cf. Nirang. § 41) has no good renown on this earth nor bliss in heaven (cf. §§ 21, 22) . . ."'

[2] Cf. Ard*â* Vîrâf CI, 20.

[3] Gar-shâh, king of Mount Damâvand (Albîrûnî, Chronology, p. 28), or *G*ibâl, the mountainous part of Media. Later chronicles corrupted Gar-shâh into Gil-shâh, king of clay, which was interpreted as king of the earth.

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86. Who for three thousand years kept the world free from death and old age, from hunger, thirst, and evil[1];

87. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

88. Or there was Hôshang, the Pêshdâdian,

89. Who destroyed two-thirds of all the evil creatures of Ahriman[2];

90. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

91. Or there was Tahmûraf, the well-armed, the son of Vîvanghat,

92. Who made the Demon of demons, Ganâ Mainyô, his steed[3], and extorted from him the seven kinds of writing[4];

93. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

94. Or there was *G*im, the Shêd, the good shepherd, the son of Vîvanghat; (he was Shêd, that is to say, shining; he was a good shepherd, that is to say,

[1] Bundahi*s* XXXIV, 1, 2. [2] See Yt. V, 22, 23.

[3] See Yt. XV, 11–13. In the Sanskrit translation this is interpreted as an allegory: 'Tahmûraf rode on Ahriman; that means that he subdued the bad Ahriman in himself.' Cf. Mirkhond, in the History of the Early Kings of Persia, tr. by Shea, p. 98.

[4] According to Firdausi, Tahmuras obliged the Dêvs he had conquered to teach him some thirty kinds of writing, the Rûmî, the Tâzî, the Pârsî, the Sogdhî, the Chinese, the Pahlavi, &c. According to the Mînôkhard (XXVII, 23) he brought to light the seven kinds of writing that the demon kept hidden. Hence is derived the legend in Albîrûnî, p. 28, that when Tahmuras was warned about the Deluge, 'he ordered all scientific books to be preserved for posterity, and to be buried in the least exposed place;' in favour of which report, Albîrûnî mentions the discovery of many loads of unintelligible bark-manuscripts in buildings under ground, at Ispahan, in his own time.

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he kept in good condition troops of mên and herds of animals)[1];

95. Who, for 616 years, 6 months and 13 days[2], kept this world free from death and old age, and kept away greed and need from the creation of Hôrmazd;

96. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

97. Or there was Dahâk[3], he of the evil religion, who kept the world under his tyranny during a thousand years, less one day,

98. And introduced into the world many ways of witchcraft and evil-doing;

99. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

100. Or there was Frêdûn, the Âthwyan,

101. Who smote and bound Azi Dahâk, that great evil-doer[4]; he put in chains the Dêvs of Mâzandarân[5], and introduced into the world a number of talismans[6];

102. Yet, when death came over him, he delivered up his body and could not struggle with death.

103. I am grateful to the Lord Hôrmazd.

104. I think thus in a grateful spirit: the beast of burden does not throw off its burden: fate has come, it cannot be thrown away.

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[1] See above, p. 11, note 2. On *Gim* or Yima, see Farg. II, and Yt. V, 25, 26; XV, 15–17.

[2] The Pahlavi transcription and Mînôkhard XXVII, 25, have sixteen days.

[3] Azi Dahâka, see Yt. V, 29–31; XV, 19–21.

[4] See Yt. V, 33–35.

[5] See above, p. 9, note 4; p. 141, note 1.

[6] See above, p. 246.

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105. May the blessed one have Paradise as his portion!

106. As to the righteous man who has come to this banquet[1], who has shared this banquet, may he for each step[2] get nearer to the bright Paradise, the all-happy Garôthmân, by twelve hundred steps!

107. When he is approaching it, may his merits increase!

108. When he is leaving it, may his sin be uprooted!

109. May righteousness and goodness prevail[3]!

110. May his soul enter the Garôthmân!

111. I am one of the righteous[4].

Atha *ǵ*amyâ*d*:—May it happen according to this wish of mine[5]!

Humatanãm[6]. All the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, done or to be done, here or elsewhere, we seize upon and we transmit them[7], that we may be in the number of the righteous.

[1] To this myazd, or religious banquet. The following formulas are those found at the end of the Âfrin Gâhânbâr.

[2] For each of his steps to this banquet.

[3] May the good prevail over the evil in his account, so that he may be saved (see above, p. 270).

[4] Ashô; I am one of the blessed, I am saved.

[5] Yasna LXVIII, 19. [6] Yasna LXVIII, 20 (XXXV, 2).

[7] We teach them; the good deeds of our disciples are accounted ours (Dînkart IX, 57, 1).

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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	...	...	क	𐬐	𐬐	ك	ك	כּ	k
2 „ aspirata	kh	...	...	ख	𐬑	𐬑	...	...	כ	kh
3 Media	g	...	...	ग	𐬔	𐬔	گ	...	ג	...
4 „ aspirata	gh	...	...	घ	𐬕	𐬕	...	...	ג	...
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	...	...	...	...	...	ق	ق	ק	...
6 Nasalis	ṅ (ng)	...	...	ङ	𐬢 (ng) / 𐬡 (N)	...	...	...	...	...
7 Spiritus asper	h	...	...	ह	𐬵 (𐬵 *hv*)	𐬵	ه	ه	ה	h, hs
8 „ lenis	'	...	...	...	...	...	ا	ا	א	...
9 „ asper faucalis	'h	...	...	...	...	...	ح	ح	ח	...
10 „ lenis faucalis	'h	...	...	...	...	...	ع	ع	ע	...
11 „ asper fricatus	...	*'h*	...	...	...	...	خ	خ	ח	...
12 „ lenis fricatus	...	*'h*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)										
13 Tenuis	...	*k*	...	च	𐬔	𐬔	چ	...	...	*k*
14 „ aspirata	...	*kh*	...	छ	...	...	...	...	...	*kh*
15 Media	...	*g*	...	ज	𐬖	𐬖	ج	ج	...	...
16 „ aspirata	...	*gh*	...	झ	...	...	غ	غ	...	...
17 „ Nasalis	...	*ñ*	...	ञ	...	...	...	...	...	...

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CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
18 Semivocalis	y	...	....	य	[illegible] init.	[illegible]	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper	...	(ẏ)	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
20 „ lenis	...	(ỷ)	....	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
21 „ asper assibilatus	...	s	....	श	[illegible]	[illegible]	ش	ش	...	...
22 „ lenis assibilatus	...	s	....	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	ژ	...	...	s
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	....	त	[illegible]	[illegible]	ت	ت	ת	t
24 „ aspirata	th	...	....	थ	[illegible]	...	...	...	ת	th
25 „ assibilata	...	...	TH	...	....	...	ث	ث	...	...
26 Media	d	...	....	द	[illegible]	[illegible]	د	د	ד	...
27 „ aspirata	dh	...	....	ध	[illegible]	...	...	...	ד	...
28 „ assibilata	...	...	DH	...	....	...	ذ	ذ	...	...
29 Nasalis	n	...	....	न	[illegible]	[illegible]	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l	...	....	ल	....	[illegible]	ل	ل	ל	l
31 „ mollis 1	...	l	....	ळ	....	...	...	...	...	...
32 „ mollis 2	...	...	L	...	....	...	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	....	स	[illegible]	[illegible]	(ث)س	س	שׂ	s
34 „ asper 2	...	...	s (ʃ)	...	....	...	...	...	ס	...
35 „ lenis	z	...	....	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	(ذ) ز	ز	ז	z
36 „ asperrimus 1	...	...	z (ʒ)	...	....	...	ص	ص	צ	ʒ, ʒh
37 „ asperrimus 2	...	...	ẓ (ʒ)	...	....	...	ض	...	...	...

| | | |

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET. I Class.	II Class.	III Class.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
1 Neutralis	0	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	◌ֲ	ă
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ĕ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
3 „ labialis	ŏ	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	ا fin.	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
4 Gutturalis brevis	a	. . .	. . . .	अ	𐬀	𐬀 init.	ا	ا	◌ַ	a
5 „ longa	ā	(a)	. . . .	आ	𐬁	𐬁	ا	ا	◌ָ	ā
6 Palatalis brevis	i	. . .	. . . .	इ	𐬃	. . .	ا	ا	◌ִ	i
7 „ longa	ī	(i)	. . . .	ई	𐬄	ی	ی	ی	◌ִי	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	ŭ	. . .	. . . .	उ	𐬅	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
9 „ longa	ū	. . .	. . . .	ऊ	𐬆	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
10 Lingualis brevis	ri	. . .	. . . .	ऋ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
11 „ longa	rī	. . .	. . . .	ॠ	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
12 Labialis brevis	u	. . .	. . . .	उ	𐬉	. . .	◌ُ	◌ُ	◌ֻ	u
13 „ longa	ū	(u)	. . . .	ऊ	𐬊	ا	◌ُو	◌ُو	◌ֻו	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis . . .	e	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬋(e) 𐬌(e)	. . .	. . .	. . .	◌ֱ	e
15 „ longa . . .	ê (ai)	(e)	. . . .	ए ऐ	𐬍, 𐬎	ی	◌ِی	◌ِی	. . .	ê
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	âi	(ai)	. . . .	ऐ	. . . .	. . .	◌ِی	◌ِی	. . .	âi
17 „ „	ei (ĕi)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ei, êi
18 „ „	oi (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o	. . .	. . . .	. . .	𐬏	. . .	. . .	. . .	◌ֹ	o
20 „ longa	ô (au)	(o)	. . . .	ओ औ	𐬐	ا	◌ُو	◌ُو	. . .	. . .
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	âu	(au)	. . . .	औ	𐬑 (au)	. . .	◌ُو	◌ُو	. . .	âu
22 „ „	eu (ĕu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
23 „ „	ou (ŏu)	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
25 Palatalis fracta	ï	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
26 Labialis fracta	ü	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

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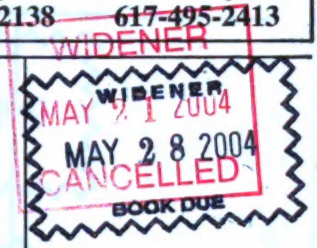

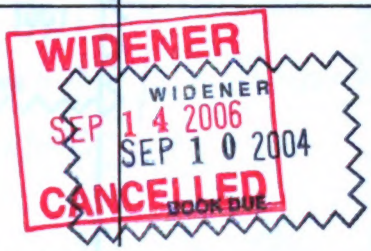

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